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THE NEW

China Review

EDITED BY

SAMUEL COULING

VOLUME III, 1921

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PLATES, ETC.

	PAGE
A Ming Dynasty Gold Coin 278,	279
A 'Silky'	214
A T'ang Manuscript	462
Chinese Ancient Documents (Engraving)	252
Chinese Family Nomenclature	159
Hieroglyphs (Engraving)	137
Kiukiang (Etching)	325
T'ang Chi-yao Coins	232
The Hangchow Bore (Map)	291
Two Art Objects	469

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Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. 1921

INDEX

2-6-67

A

PAGE

Abacus, How to Use the... 127, 309
Ancient Chinese Documents ... 243
Art Objects 469

B

Bibliographical Terms 254
Bore, The Hangchow 289

C

Calendar, Chinese 394
Canton, Names of 93
Canton River, Source of the ... 335
Carolus Dollars 4
Carving, Ornamental 302
Cathay and the Way Thither ... 216
Cattaneo, Le Père 350
,, ,, his writings ... 355
Character 汐 *hsi*, the 423
Chas. W. Wason Library ... 451
Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤 45
Chinese Ditties ... 259, 368, 442
Chinese Family Nomenclature ... 159
Cities and Towns of China, Notes on Playfair's... 92
Classificatory System of Relationships 159
Cochin-China 32, 96
,, ,, Ports of 37
,, ,, Woods of 38
,, ,, Elephants of ... 96
Coins, Tang Chi-Yao ... 229, 386
,, Gold 231, 386
,, A Gold Coin of the Ming Dynasty 273
Confucian Ethics, The 'Natural' Basis of 192
Corrigenda 398
Cult of Military Heroes, The 41, 79

D

Ditties, Chinese ... 259, 368, 442

E

Edict of Toleration 207

F

PAGE

Family Nomenclature, Chinese... 159
Fondateur de la Chrétienté de Chang-Hai, Le ... ...
Foochow, Names of 94
Four Seas, The 30

G

Group-action, The Philosophy of 338
God of War, The 48
Golden Sand River, The ... 336

H

Hangchow 12
Bore, The 289
Holidays 359
Hangs 357
Market Places 15
Names of 95
Sea-Wall 295
Hsi-an, Names of 93
Hsi-Kiang, The Source of ... 335
Hsü Chia-K'o 徐霞客 325

I

Ideo-Phonetic Characters ... 389
I Yin's Personal Name 伊尹 ... 286

J

Jesuits in China 108
Jordan of Séverac, his Letters ... 219

K

Kan Pao 干寶 378
Kuan Yü 49
Kuan-Ti 5
,, Legends 55
,, God of Weather ... 58
,, ,, Wealth... ... 58
,, ,, Literature ... 60
,, in Buddhism 61
,, his Temples 62

Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

	Page
Kwan-Tsz... 1,	405
,, his teachings... ...	6
,, and the Spirit World	9
,, the Theory of War	405
,, opinions of Preface-writers	4

L

Lei Sacrifice, The 雷	44
Lopez, Bishop Gregory	138
Lute Girl's Song, Mr. Waley and the 281,	376
Lunar Zodiac, The	453
Lunar Stations (*hsü*), The ...	454

M

Martyrdom of Franciscans ...	220
Ma Sacrifice, The 禡	45
Mexican Dollars, On	414
Military Heroes, The Cult of ...	41
,, ,, The Twenty-six	86
Mystery of the Great State Seal, The	395

N

Nakshatra...	454
Nestorian Monument ... 241,	310
Notes and Queries 47, 74, 140, 233, 310,	393
Nouvelle Histoire de la Chine, Une	429

O

Origin of Ideo-Phonetic Characters, The	389

R

Radicals and Phonetics	389
Remote Ancestor, The	28
Reviews and Notices :—	
Arabian Prophet, The ...	237
Ars Asiatica	320
Bulletin Archéologique de Musée Guimet	321
Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient	78
Calendrier-Annuaire	75
China, Captive or Free ? ...	402
Chinese Family and Commercial Law	402
Etude sur la Phonologie Chinois	77
Far Eastern Products Manual	324
Fishing from the Earliest Times	475
Fragments of Confucian Lore	155
Historical Eclipses	476
History of Shanghai, The ...	150
Israel's Messenger	153
Journal N.C.B. Royal Asiatic Society 74,	403
Le Proto-Chinois, Langue Flexionnelle	322
Le Zodiac Lunaire Asiatique...	400
M.A.B.	153
Mandarin Phonetic Reader, A	77
Manual of Chinese Metaphor, A	238
Mélange d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales	78
Nestorian Monument, Notes on the	241
Origins of the Chinese, The...	76
Pageant of Peking	146
Religious Persecution in China	323
Trade and Administration of China, The ...	240
Roman Catholic Missions in China 107,	196

S

Shu Ching Texts	18
Silkies	213
Son of Heaven	30
Sou Shên Chi 65,	460
,, A T'ang Manuscript of the	378
State Seal, The Great	395
Stationery, Ancient Chinese ...	247
Style, Literary	3
Suan p'an, How to use the ...	127

T

T'ang Chi-yao Coins	229
T'ang Manuscript, A	460
Taoist Tales	65
Tun-huang Desert, Documents from the	243

W

Waley, Mr.. and the Lute Girl's Song	281
Wan-nien	92
Wonder of the Capital, The 12,	356
Writing Materials, Ancient ...	8

Y

Yo Fei	79
,, his tomb	83
,, equal with Kuan Ti ...	85
Yü Pao 于寶 65,	378

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. FEBRUARY, 1921 No. 1

CONTENTS

		PAGE
KWAN-TSZ	BY PROF. E. H. PARKER	1
"THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL"	BY A. C. MOULE	12
SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TEXTS OF THE SHU-CHING	BY A. MORLEY	18
A RELATION OF THE KINGDOME OF COCHIN-CHINA	BY E. T. C. WERNER	32
THE CULT OF MILITARY HEROES IN CHINA	BY R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E.	41
TAOIST TALES—A REJOINDER	BY COLONEL W. PERCEVAL YETTS	65
NOTES AND QUERIES		69
RECENT LITERATURE		74

The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

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THE NEW

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KWAN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

I.—THE STORY OF KWAN-TSZ.

THE story of Kwan-tsz opens a little before the year 700 B.C. Three statesmen were sitting together in intimate conversation, and two of these had names well-known to every Chinese schoolboy, 管仲 and 鮑叔 being the Damon and Pythias of their history; the third, having left no corresponding repute behindhim, we shall call by his unmodified Chinese name Shao-huh 召忽. The scene was the capital of the only civilised and organised vassal state impinging upon the sea, 齊, being the northern half of what is now known as Shantung province; and it must be borne in mind, from the outset of this narrative, that, even at this comparatively late date, the whole "empire" of China consisted in the main of a hundred miles or so on each bank of the Yellow River, then, as now, unnavigable except in short sections for anything beyond a scow or a skiff. The subject of conversation was the succession to the dukedom; the regular heir who ultimately succeeded, like most reigning princes of those days, was an incestuous profligate, autocrat in his own domain, quarrelsome towards his fellow vassals — only eight or ten of them of any political importance,—and neglectful of his duty

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towards his sovereign liege the King or Emperor 王, whose power had for centuries back been steadily waning, until at last the central autocrat had become a religious and literary figure-head in his circumscribed appanage rather than an effective ruler in the whole Chinese domain : tne particular point under discussion however, in or about 700 B.C. was which of the duke's three sons would be the most likely and the most suitable successor. Both Damon and Pythias had been engaged in inter-state commerce before they settled down as advisers to the reigning duke, in whose territory neither appears to have been born, though one of the two at least was of distinguished ancient lineage: indeed it seems to have been the custom in those days for members of governing clans to devote their energies to the cornering of international supplies as well as to the manipulation of international politics.

Damon was particularly anxious that Pythias should undertake the tutorship of the duke's son Candidus 小白, whose qualities he considered most promising. Shao-huh said "No! We three are like the three legs of a tripod" (the figurative Chinese word for a dynasty or ruling house, holders of the nine ancient tripods), " and it is quite uncertain which son will succeed : I do not think it will be Candidus." Damon retorted that the people did not like the mother of Candidus' brother Kew 糾 or 糾 (untranslatable), and thus Kew himself shared her unpopularity, whilst the eldest brother of all (the one who ultimately succeeded) was a contemptible character ; on the other hand the fact that Candidus could point to a mother who was both a favourite wife and of ancient lineage had secured to him popular sympathy. Meanwhile the old reigning duke had died, and the despicable successor, the eldest son, after incestuous intercourse with his own sister and conniving at the murder of her husband (the reigning duke of the southern half of Shan Tung 魯), is himself killed in a palace scuffle, and the throne is seized by a maternal uncle 無知—in fact his murderer. In order to save their own lives and those of the two capable sons, Damon and Pythias (the latter in charge of Candidus), take refuge in neighbouring territories, until the assassination of the tyrannical usurper gives them a chance : the two brothers with their respective supporters have, however, to fight a battle before the race for power is definitely settled, and during this fight Damon wounds Candidus with an arrow. Pythias 鮑叔, having placed Candidus securely on the throne pleads hard for his old friend Damon 管仲, taking the ground that the latter's fidelity to Kew (now put to death at his successful brother's demand) augurs for similar fidelity to the lawful sovereign. By a diplomatic stratagem Damon (accompanied by Shao-huh), was obtained alive from the southern

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state (afterwards Confucius' native place) above referred to. Shao-huh timorously committed suicide as he was arriving, but Damon courageously "faced the music" and was soon installed as Prime Minister, a post which he held until his death over forty years afterwards.

The Damon of the above story is none other than the first of the Chinese political philosophers, commonly known as Kwan-tsz, and Candidus is the personal name of Duke Hwan 桓 of Ts'i, the first of the Five Hegemons 五霸 for about a century Protectors of China and of its *fainéant* Kings or Emperors; very much as in later days the Shōguns 將軍 of Japan, for centuries took practical charge of the recluse Mikados 御門 and kept the daimios 大名 in order : the Japanese have always been assiduous students of Chinese philosophy, and it is not unlikely that the book of Kwan-tsz has been the foundation of their best political ideas in the past. Subject to variants in the numerous authorities as to personal names, exact dates, and petty details, the above story is amply confirmed and must be accepted as a piece of genuine history.

The book of Kwan-tsz, which, if it were of his own composition, would date from 650 B.C., is still with us, and is certainly a revelation of first-class mental activity at an unexpectedly early date ; but we do not need the testimony of Chinese commentators from B.C. 80 downwards to convince us that the chapters, which in any case are arranged in the most higgledy-piggledy fashion, have been put together by various political admirers at different dates ranging between, say, 500 and 100 B.C. This is not to say that much of the book contains Kwan-tsz's actual words, but in his time there was no literature in the *belles lettres* sense at all, and indeed no consecutive or sustained Chinese literature of any kind. The bowl of 590 B.C. which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum is perhaps one of the longest and most literary specimens of Chinese political history in existence, and deals with proved events but one generation later in date than Kwan-tsz ; yet even this production, composed by the Emperor's own scribes, does not carry us beyond the declamatory style of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian inscriptions. Confucius' history, considered so wonderful in 480 B.C., has no style about it at all, and is merely a jerky, laconic diary of chief events ; its novelty and then rare merit lay in its exact dates : the very first appearance of "style" in literature appears to be the principal commentary on that same Confucius' history, which commentary cannot well be older than 450 B.C. After that date style rapidly improved as China herself rapidly developed in intelligence and enterprise, until at the "destruction of the books" in 213 B.C. it had reached a pitch of

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dialectical perfection scarcely excelled in any subsequent age. What happened, then, was probably this :—in Kwan-tsz's time thé archives at the various capitals, the registers, the regulations, and so on, were short, pithy memoranda in the charge of specialists or scribes 史 whose primitive arrangements were somewhat on the lines of our own ancient Exchequer table : there was a free exchange of bamboo slips, conveying to the states orders from the King, and also diplomatic "notes" from vassal to vassal. Kwan-tsz's wonderful administration we are about to describe no doubt set the example of intensive politics to other courts, and his maxims were gradually circulated, in such wise that more or less complete sets were filed at the royal and at the chief vassal courts, accessible to Confucius of Lu 魯 amongst other ministers, for Confucius has left on record his opinion about Kwan-tsz's administrative genius. Any one who has read carefully the three Commentaries on Confucius' own history, and the contemporary "Remarks concerning the States" supplementary thereto; Mencius; the various contentious philosophies of the period. etc. etc., will have no difficulty in agreeing with the Chinese critics who have made a special study of Kwan-tsz that his so-called "book" was put into shape (shapeless though that shape is) chiefly by smart writers of the so-called "Fighting States Period," *i.e.*, the period between the death of Confucius and the destruction of literature, say 480-213 B.C. Whether one or more collections of Kwan-tsz shared the fate of Confucian literature we can most probably now never know ; but in any case what survived after that catastrophe had to be put together once more when the destroyer of literature was dead and gone, and when the Han dynasty was firmly seated on the imperial throne. One of the subordinate Han princes 劉向 who busied themselves with recovering the remains of ancient literature, himself furnishes a preface to Kwan-tsz's book as we now have it, and therefore in asserting the truth of the whole story, and in proceeding to give a digest of Kwan-tsz's marvellous *Kultur* (in many respects so like that of modern pre-war Prussia), we state clearly that the book of Kwan-tsz in its present shape cannot be more than 2,000 years old, though his actual words undoubtedly are reproduced here and there.

No sooner had the Duke and Kwan-tsz reconciled their past differences, than complete confidence prevailed between the two unbrokenly until their deaths. Damon's advice to Pythias that Candidus was the promising successor whose tutoring should be undertaken proved correct: Pythias remained alongside Damon as joint adviser for the greater part if not the whole of this long period, clearly recognising Damon's superior genius, but himself

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manifestly the more gently (and also, perhaps, the more honourably) inclined of the two. It must be remembered that the sanctity of rulers (subsequently so persistently inculcated by Confucius) was then in full vogue as a fundamental principle of dynastic and also of vassal rule; equally well established was the view that all rulers must be guided by the advice of competent ministers. Kwan-tsz, himself of royal stock, although a private speculator, was throughout strongly imbued with the "king can do no wrong" idea, from the moment when he first took service under the Duke's father; and however sternly he might fight for or against this or that successor to that divinity hedging a ruler, once that successor on the throne, with religious rites completed, he from that moment treated his person as semi-sacred.

He proceeded to formulate a policy as follows: the power of the king (so the "Emperor" was then called) is diminishing day by day; the vassal states, mostly relatives agnate or cognate, are neglecting their homage and kinsman duties; Tartars of all kinds are becoming more and more threatening in the north, whilst the great semi-Chinese state of the south, 楚 (both banks of the Yang-tze valley, from the mountain gorges eastwards to modern Shang-hai and Hangchow), is increasing in pretension, and even presumes on grounds of remote kinsmanship to claim "imperial" rights and succession to our own supreme royal throne. I propose therefore to lay before your Grace* a number of administrative measures, the ultimate object of which will be to save the imperial privileges and dignity, force the leading vassal states (then only half-a-dozen of a status roughly corresponding with that of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, etc., in the German Empire) to fulfil their liege responsibilities; put a stop to these incessant local wars of ambition; and give peace and prosperity to the people. Thus Kwan-tsz. The Duke from first to last gave him a free hand, always, however, carefully discussing each proposition before giving his sanction, and taking good care to reserve his own prerogatives, interests and pleasures. The greater part of the book, accordingly, consists of long and reasoned conversations (often much in the style of Confucius' shorter and jerkier Analects) followed by draft schemes carefully worked out. Having intimated what is the groundwork of the present story we shall now proceed† to analyze one by one the

*The "Duke" was only a Marquess, but all reigning princes were styled "duke" after death, provided they were politically legitimate.

†The subjects of (i) a ruler's general duties, and (ii) the universality of *tao* or *the* (right) *way* have already been published in the June 1920 number of this *Review* (p. 248).

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methods of procedure : but it must be remembered that the best thoughts are promiscuously scattered about, varied and repeated ; it has been a laborious work to pick them out, piece them together, and reconstruct them as an intelligible whole.

II.—Lessons from Former Dynasties.

It is plain from the authorities cited by Kwan-tsz in order to inculcate his teachings, that the chief if not the only literature available to him were the so-called "classics" in their older form, a century or more before Confucius and his disciples collected, pruned and re-arranged them. Collectively the *sien-wang* 先王 or "former kings" are frequently brought forward as models of how perfect administration was traditionally conducted in the good old times. More specifically, lessons are drawn from the "five generations" 五代, i.e., founders of dynasties, or families. Individually the worst and the best monarchs are mentioned in the usual way, special stress being laid on the villainies of the last monarchs 傑 and 紂 of the only two hereditary houses (B.C. 2205-1766 and 1766-1122) preceding the highly organised 周 dynasty under which Kwan-tsz lived, and upon the virtues of the founders 湯 and 文武 of the two new ruling houses succeeding those degenerates. There is little or nothing to show us in what form these records were kept, nor in quoting from the History, Odes, Changes or Ceremonies (as Confucius left them to us), does Kwan-tsz seem ever to name them as separate books or collections. In his days archives and writings appear to have been relegated to the charge of paid scribes 史, whose duty it was to record happenings at the nod of rulers and to keep the tallies, registers, etc.. ready for production before the council at any moment. A gentleman would acquire at school by heart all a man of his rank would be supposed to know "as one in authority and not as the scribes." Certainly in one place Kwan-tsz uses the expression *wu-king* 五經 (later meaning "five classics"), but he there means the "five regular" sub-divisions of ceremonial. In one place he apparently speaks of the *yüan-pên* 原本 ("original volumes" in modern Chinese) of the former kings' *shu* or "books," an expression which the Chinese commentator explains by collating *kien-ts'eh* 簡策, or inscribed "bamboo slips," strung together at one end, as we know they continued to be until silk and paper began to replace them at the beginning of our era ; but closer scrutiny proves that he meant "go to the root" of, and not "original volumes," no such expression being known in those days : it

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is of such anachronisms that we must beware. In another place it is remarked "I have heard it said that when one of the ancients was discussing," etc., etc. In another, "According to the old books there were eight *Ti* 帝 (semi-divine Emperors) not counting Shên-nung": and a commentator remarks "meaning the Five *Ti* of the Changes and the three Kings 王 of the History." In exhorting the Duke he finds occasion to say "There have been 79 *tai* (generations) of *kün* 君 (princes in the sense of emperors or kings) in the past." This utterance is interesting as pointing definitely to the number of Emperors who, according to the ancient books—or, more strictly, writings,—were supposed to have reigned centuries before Confucius (B.C. 480) or Sz-ma Ts'ien (B.C. 90) wrote the first histories; another passage says that the number of Emperors who had up to date sacrificed to Heaven at T'ai-shan was 72: this last passage seems to answer Professor Chavannes' scepticism as to whether *la plupart des souverains de l'antiquité* had ever performed these sacrifices. Although Kwan-tsz never mentions the History, he quotes passages from the *Chou Shu* or Book of the Chou dynasty, a part of the History 書 (classic) often cited in later times as though the classic itself, though it never seems to have been made quite clear precisely what is meant by the ten books of 71 chapters passing at some undefined date under that name, and perhaps forming part of the original History as pruned down by Confucius. One of the reforms introduced by Kwan-tsz was uniformity in the formation of written characters. It must be observed that in all published Chinese histories there seems to be a hiatus of about 200 years between, say, 1,050 and 850 B.C. during which little or nothing of a definite nature is recorded either of the King or imperial appanage, or of the rising vassal states,—at the latter date manifestly tending towards "self-determination" or independence. The Tartar intrigues, revolution and flight of the King, discovery of an improved written system, all coincide with the commencement of real history, and it was during the period 850 to say 750 B.C. that history becomes not only definite but interesting. The celebrated Bamboo Annals discovered 1,000 years later do not go farther back, nor does Confucius' history composed or remodelled in 500 B.C. record any real annals previous to 730 B.C. Practical thinking and "applied thought," in fact, began at the moment when the genius of Kwan-tsz first took political work in hand.

There are various passages in Kwan-tsz throwing light upon the nature of writing materials in the 7th century B.C. For

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instance, in one place it is stated that the Duke, making preparation to issue new laws, "planed his boards and inked his pencils," which seems to show that the knife or steel style with which writing used to be carved or scratched upon wood or bamboo (as the Hindoo Banian merchants do to this day) had already begun to give way to the brush of frayed or split bamboo dipped in varnish or ink. Moreover one passage runs, "Weigh your words carefully, and ink them clearly on the writing surface." The use of evidentiary seals is plain from the sentence: "a seal (*si* 璽) was used in making the enquiry to show the good faith of his words." In one place a commentator says: "I think there may be a misplaced bamboo slip here," evidently taking it for granted that slips of bamboo already formed the "books" of the period. Bargains and contracts were effected by *k'üan* 券 (one piece) and *k'i* 契 (two pieces), but a *pieh-k'üan* or "other document" is described as a "divided *k'i*." In money loans, when as an act of grace repayment was waived, "the *k'üan* was broken in two and the writing was erased (or scraped off)." In fact, our own "indenture" was simply a parchment variety of the indented Chinese *k'i*, each party holding a corresponding half. In a passage upon uniformity in weights, measures, carts-ruts, and written characters (thus anticipating the First Emperor's reforms of 450 years later) it is said *Shu t'ung ming* 書同名 or "in writing similar terms (or characters)."

There are frequent references to archives and records; also allusions to the announcement of new legislation at the beginning of the year; also to the risk of bad characters growing in numbers unless the tally rosters are carefully kept. Note is taken of the economical conditions, the extent of cultivation, the accumulation of stores. There is evidence of careful celestial observation, and it is quite plain that the two solstices were the key dates. Persistent study is inculcated so far as the official classes are concerned, and there are evidences in the numerous "georgics" of rhymed poetry; in one place poetry is recommended as a remedy for anger, and music as one for sadness. There are in Kwan-tsz's book perhaps a score or more of strange written characters to the meaning and pronunciation of which there is no clue whatever; most of these are so noted in K'ang-hi's dictionary, and of course the mere fact of their existence and their having been despaired of for twenty-five centuries is collateral evidence of the book's antiquity, so far at least as the traditional words and parts of the composition as we see it are concerned. Kwan-tsz says, the "*sz-king*" 四經 will have been studied in vain unless at home filial piety and brotherly love are cultivated, and in

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office the principles of loyalty and good faith are maintained: the commentator says these "four classics" are the Odes, History, Ceremonies, and Music, but this savours of later interpolation. The expression "when the *san-king* 三經 are all right, the state is held well in hand," suggests that the four *king* simply meant four "bibles," or recognised books, whilst these three refer to the necessity of taking Heaven, Earth, and Season into consideration, and accord better with the five "standards" 吉凶賓軍嘉 of ceremonial already mentioned. The book of Kwan-tsz throughout, in fact, requires circumspect and critical study before any striking saying can be accepted as original.

III.—Kwan-tsz's Spirit World.

Struck with remorse after his faithful servant Kwan-tsz's death, the Duke asks himself "If the dead really have consciousness how shall I be able to face him when I die?" During the intrigues for succession the Duke's own brother and predecessor, when out hunting, imagined he saw the ghost of a man he had practically assassinated in the shape of a wild pig. In one place it is asked "What divinity (*shên-ling*) is it that keeps Heaven and Earth in their respective places?" The distinction between the *kwei* and the nobler *shên* variety of spirits does not seem definite; for instance, "Victims and sacrifices are not sufficient alone to please the *kwei-shên* 鬼神"—meaning that they appreciate the real virtue rather than the ostentatious parade of the worshipper. Again, "He who is just towards man is the one who obtains favour with the *kwei*." The *kwei-shên* are defined as "what float about between Heaven and Earth; they are on every hill and cañon and happiness must be begged from them with sacrifice (*tsi* 祭) of valuable things"; mention is made in this connection of signal-posts on hills. "The *kwei-shên* hearken to an intelligent ruler, even if he have no valuables; the reverse in the case of a stupid prince, however costly his offerings." The *kwei-shên* are said to enjoy the aroma of the offerings in the ancestral Temple (*Tsu-Miao* 祖廟), and on the occasions of the Five Worships (*Wu-sz* 五祀) at the four seasons (with two during summer). Every long-reigning lord of men has a horror of losing his empire, and of thus extinguishing his Ancestral Temple (*Tsung-Miao* 宗廟). A passage alludes to the *Ts'ing-shên* 清神, or Clear Spirit, as being a sort of Creator, and at the end of the year the ruling prince faces the spirit world (*shên-ming* 神明) to the accompaniment of music. There is a *tao* or way to treat Heaven,

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Earth, Man, Spirits, Beasts and Birds, each in their respective places. There were seventy-two of the Emperors who sacrificed (*fêng*) to the T'ai Mountain *. There seems no doubt that star-worship of some kind was practised, for when atmospherical conditions were unfavourable (*fêng-k'i pu-ho* 風氣不和) or drought prevailed, this was done in the hope that the star would not remain too hot or too far off to secure next year's harvest; it must be mentioned, however, with regard to this passage that the commentator suspects it is not original Kwan-tsz, and adds that the later school of nature (*yin-yang kia* 陰陽家) mention no such theory. Yet, in another chapter, Kwan-tsz clearly speaks of the virtue (*têh*) of the stars (*sing*), Jupiter (*sui* 歲), and the minor planets (*ch'ên*). In connection with ideas of Hades it is mentioned, in reference to the development of the salt and iron industries, that both those substances belong to the prince of the nether world or unseen kingdom (*yin-wang chï kwoh* 陰王之國). On the whole, however, Kwan-tsz was not superstitious, and had even a tendency to ridicule both religion and omens; he says the knowing ones make practical use of the *kwei-shên* whilst the foolish believe in them, which attitude recalls the now current proverb *Sin kwei kien kwei*, "Those who believe in ghosts see ghosts." A story having been brought to the Duke that dragons had been seen fighting, Kwan-tsz said that the best way would be to send a courtier of rank dressed in black, to the spot, so that when the rest of China heard of the event they would recognise that Heaven had selected this particular Chinese state for a mission, and the eight powerful vassals would thus consent to follow the Duke's lead in restoring the king's power without waiting for the compulsion of military force. Kwan-tsz recognises two kinds of comets (*ts'iang-sing* 槍 and *sui-sing* 彗) as the vehicles of omen, and, in addition to mayweed and tortoise universally employed for oracles, associates the dragon also with innate powers of that kind. The functions of the *wu-chuh* 巫祝 at oracular and sacrificial functions were not exactly priestly, for they never had been nor has been any such caste exercising control over the Chinese conscience: they were rather ghostly assistants having special knowledge of the various spirits' rank and degree and able thus to apologise to the spirits for the worshipper's solecisms †. The Duke himself, on mounting the

* This statement would corroborate what Prof. Chavannes considers doubtful (see above), if we could be sure that Kwan-tsz's twenty-third chapter was really a record of his conversation with the Duke. (See Prof. Chavannes' *Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. III, p. 414).

† It will be remembered that the late Mr. Moulton suspected similar *shaman* influences in the Magi.

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throne, ordered the blood of the victim and the wine to be sprinkled on the terminalian altar (*she* 社), and the acolyte said "This is to get rid of the ruler's personal failings; otherwise empty pretence"; the Duke was furious, but Kwan-tsz interposed saying afterwards, "the Duke will succeed politically," meaning that the mere fact his being ashamed of evil was a good sign. Those who neglect ominous indications incur the risk of evil, as also those who neglect sacrifice (*tsi*) to the spirits (*shèn*) in order to expiate their errors. Life is essence, which word essence the commentator defines as the most spiritual (*ling*) part of the spirits (*shên*); and life has powerful influence upon the water spirit (*shui shên*) in cultivation. At the same time no oracle is required to tell you what is contrary to *tao* (the law of nature). What spiritual force (*shên-ling*) do you suppose keeps Heaven and Earth in their places? Some one must move inert matter. The commentators are very eulogistic upon parts of this chapter (13) much of which they consider must be genuine Kwan-tsz and must form the foundations upon which the Taoists Lao-tsz, Chwang-tsz, and the original authors of the (fater and largely spurious) *Yin-fu King* 陰符經 have built their speculations.

(To be continued).

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"THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL"

Roughly Translated

BY

A. C. MOULE.

The 都城紀勝 *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* is a little pamphlet about 杭州 Hang-chou, written in the first half of the thirteenth century.* It is among the earliest and smallest of several similar books, and seems to be of sufficient interest to justify this attempt to translate it into English.

* * *

都城紀勝序

朝紀元而混一區宇四海會同車書大備百年之後宮室苑囿市肆坊巷寺觀橋梁舟車人物日增月盛以至湖山之勝歌樓舞榭之奢不減京師蓋自中興駐蹕臨安紹熙修政四方輻輳商賈貿遷珍奇輻湊僑寓者以北人為多服飾器用制度精巧花時賞月四節遊觀百戲伎藝悉聚於此其他衣食之奉下飯之需蔬果之品禽魚之味鮮者腊者糟者醉者無不畢備而又有江湖河鮮海鮮野味野蔌之珍品味之多不可殫記其他如官府衙宇廟宮寺觀庵院橋梁亭館園林池沼名人古蹟靈山勝境與夫人物之盛四時之景不可勝紀雖欲形容其萬一豈能盡其實哉予自丱角來遊京師今已耳順之年矣其間興廢之迹亦不經目者多矣因閑暇追憶故老之談參以耳目之所及聞見之所得不敢以書生之寡陋而不為之記也故不揆荒淺輒為之序其端云

平乙未元日

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*The edition used is that of the 武林掌故叢編 *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*, 集 I, vol. ii, 1878. Cf. *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, c. 70, fol. 38vo, and 善本書室藏書志 *Shan pên shu shih ts'ang shu chih*, c. 12, fol. 15r°.

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"PREFACE TO RECORDS OF THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL.

"When the founders of the sacred dynasty began to reign they fixed their capital at Pien,* and for its customs, rules and ceremonies all the country looked up to it as a model. When the Emperor Kao Tsung lodged at Hang,† the beauty of the landscapes and the prosperity of the people of Hang surpassed those of the capital tenfold, and even the markets were as good as those at the capital,‡ and now that the revival of prosperity has lasted more than a century, the Emperors have succeeded one another, peace is long established, and by degrees commerce has been developed and a great population collected, until it surpasses again by much more than tenfold what it was at the time of the revival. And the conclusion to the *Record of the famous Gardens of Lo-yang* has it that the prosperity or decay of the parks and gardens marks the rise and fall of Lo-yang.§ Much more, with the

*汴州 Pien Chou, the capital of the 周 Chou dynasty, was taken over as the 宋 Sung capital by 太祖 T'ai Tsu, A.D. 960.

†杭州 Hang-chou (or 杭縣 Hang hsien, as we believe it now is). Kao Tsung first came to Hang-chou in March, 1129, but did not make it his temporary capital (行在所 Hsing tsai so, or 行在 Hsing tsai, or 行都 Hsing tu) until April 3, 1138. The name of the place was changed to 臨安 Lin-an on December 15 (or August 1), 1129. *Cf.* J. R. A. S., Jan. 1917, p. 10 and references there.

‡京師 Ching-shih. At first sight this sentence where Hang is compared to Ching shih (i.e., Pien chou) may seem fatal to the old belief that Marco Polo's *Quinsai* is a transcription of *ching-shih*, a belief suggested by MARTINI (*Description... Ce la Chine* p. 127 in THÉVENOT'S *Relations*, Pt. III, 1666) who says "C'est, dis-je, cette Quinsai, où estoit de son temps la Cour de la Chine, que les sçavants et les polis entre les Chinois nomment Kingsu, et le vulgaire Kingsaï; c'est de là qu'est venu la Quinsai du Venitien." While I am inclined to think that Quinsai (Khingsai, Khansa, Cansay or Campsay) may well represent the characters 杭州, it is impossible to say that Hang-chou was never called Ching-shih. In the 錢塘遺事 *Ch'ien-t'ang i shih*, written at the very time that Marco was in China, we find in c. 1, fol. 3v°, 此京師門名 "This is the name of a gate at Ching-shih," referring to Pien, but in c. 8, fol. 9r° 京師戒嚴 "Ching-shih was placed under martial law," referring as certainly to Hang-chou. *Cf.* J. R. A. S., January 1917, pp. 8-10. Camse, which YULE thought was a transcription of Ching-shih on a Chinese map of 1595, has been shown to be 江西 Chiang-hsi.

§The words, as quoted in *Sŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, c. 70, fol. 13r°, are 天下之治亂候於洛陽之盛衰洛陽之盛衰候於園囿之興廢. The *Lo-yang ming yüan chi*, in one chapter (卷), was written by 李格非, 文叔, Li Ko-fei (Wên shu) of 濟南 Chi-nan, who lived about the end of the 11th century.

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revival, has the temporary capital, the crown of the south-east, become to day the model and measure of the whole land; the "carriages and writing" * are standardized, the people multiplied, the manners and customs refined and good, the markets crowded. What comparison can there be with the famous gardens of Lo-yang long ago?

"Having lighted upon brilliant times, I have lodged in and wandered through the capital † seeing with my eyes and hearing with my ears for, no doubt, more than one day, and cannot but put together a record of it. What is already recorded in the Monographs illustrated with maps and in the topographies‡ is not repeated. Though this is not able to depict the ten thousandth part of the air of prosperous peace, yet it imitates the idea handed down by the *Record of famous Gardens*. I am only ashamed of having recorded the facts without choosing my words.

"The time is the first day of *i wei* in Tuan-p'ing of the Sung (Sunday, January 21, A.D. 1235).

"A preface by the old man who succeeds by forbearance living in the Watered Garden."

都城紀勝 市井 灌圃耐得翁

自北時所天官店大瓦百餘樓而賣論盛
大早新無門巷鋪前內人口海者淸物最前外烟棚河悉鮮球利南
內閒海淸者口人前內鋪巷門無新早大
珍異及器以前橋夜然巧無閣後方有張宵觀云
玉珍奇此安瓦亦奇畫閒賣鼓動起遇居
野味奇其安中於集坊心浩諸撲與井至馬複然買可
果下朝頭物除中皿其酒靜趁無尤玩
南路花天至以器及新外異門珍玉膏
門市鬧內利球鮮悉河棚烟外勝處買日井買四將晨如民
瓦前以夜橋食惟器撲異方有撲酒靜趁無尤
百色坊歌五館鼓市時早海者淸物最前外烟棚河悉鮮球利南
餘坊色前內鋪巷門無新早大
樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
而樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
賣而樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
論賣而樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
盛論賣而樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
幕盛論賣而樓餘百瓦大店官天所時北自
次排四早五歌坊色前內鋪巷門無新早大
蓋門時市鼓館巷物最前人口淸者海閒內
不和皆者朝直市件勝外烟棚河悉鮮球利
可買然複馬至井與撲諸浩心坊集野玉膏
以民如晨將四買日賣處穰衆中於味珍門
勝居遇起動鼓賣閒奇亦其安瓦此奇異外
紀作元開其後閣無巧然夜橋前以器及新
云觀宵張有方撲異器惟市食淸至天花路
玩尤無趁靜酒其皿中除物頭朝下果南

*An allusion to the 中庸 *Chung yung* (Legge, XXVIII, 3) 今天下車同軌書同文.

†Hang-chou.

‡The *Topographies*, of which every province, department, and district in China, and every famous mountain, monastery or college has produced at least one, are now generally called 志 *chih* (the less formal descriptions being also known as 記 *chi* or 史 *shih*, etc.), but at the time of their origin in the 8th century they were more often called 圖經 *T'u ching* "Monographs with maps." Cf. Pelliot's account of the 沙州圖經 *Sha-chou t'u ching* recovered by him from Tun-huang in 1908. *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, I, pp. 112, 113.

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"RECORDS OF THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL.

"The old man of the Watered Garden who succeeds by forbearance.

I.—"Market Places.*

"North and south of the new road outside the Ho-ning gate of the Palace†; pearls, jade, jewels, and rarities, and the first flowers and fruit of the season, and sea fish, and eatables from the country, and curiosities, and foreign things are all collected together here in the morning. And when you reach the Ch'ao-T'ien gate, the Ch'ing-ho *fang*, the front of the Middle Wa, the Pa-t'ou, the Kuan-hsiang k'ou, the P'eng, Hsin, and Chung-an bridges, food shops and dwelling houses are densely packed. And the night markets everywhere, except in front of the Palace, are the same, but principally at the front of the Middle Wa where they sell by auction ingenious utensils and things of every description exactly the same as by day‡. The markets, buying and selling, wrestling rings (?), wine towers and singing halls in the other districts and lanes go straight on and do not close till after the fourth drum (about 2 a.m.), and at the fifth drum (about 3 or 4 o'clock a.m.) the horses [of the officials] going to audience begin to move, and those who hope to sell at the early market get up again at dawn and open shop. All the year round it is like this, but when you come to Yüan Hsiao the scene is still more lively, [the silk growers] crowd in at the gates to obtain

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*The use of 井 *Ching*, a well, for a market place is derived either from the primitive custom of people taking things with them to barter when they went to draw water, or from the fact that a market, like a well, is an enclosed space.

†The Ho-ning gate, the north gate of the Palace, was on the site of the south gate (鳳山 Fêng-shan or 正陽 Chêng-yang) of the more recent city wall. The Palace proper (Ta nei) was on the little 鸞頭 Man-t'ou hill. The new road may perhaps be the street, still unnamed in modern maps, which leads to the 候潮 Hou-ch'ao gate.

‡These localities are easily identified. The Ch'ao-T'ien gate was then the ruin of a tower built by the feudal prince 錢鏐 Ch'ien Liu early in the 10th century, to be rebuilt rather more than a century later, and to be called 鎮海樓 Chên hai lou in 1375. Cf. 西湖遊覽志 *Hsi hu yu lan chih* c. 13, fol. 7, 8. The rest follow the line of the Imperial or Great Street northward, keeping very nearly the old names. The night markets are still a great feature of the place.

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loans, the people make booths, tents for shows and entertainments are set up in lines, and it quite baffles description. *

"In Lung-hsing [A.D. 1163-4] the Kao Miao with the six palaces were opposite the Middle Wa where the spectators' stand in the dye yard of Hsiu nei ssŭ now is. The Emperor Hsiao Tsung used to enjoy coming to look at the lanterns and the buyers and sellers ranged in front of the barrier. His chamberlains made neat piles of coins, and he would summon the sellers of food and the minstrels and give them money, some receiving gold or silver coins. At that time there were still traders (?) who had migrated from the capital to be met with among the shops, like Grandmother Li for soup or the Chang family for dumplings at the

*In this passage several phrases deserve attention. 撲賣 *P'o mai* 'to sell by auction (more commonly 拍賣) is illustrated by a quotation in the *P'ei wĕn yun fu*, s. v. 賣, where 一撲 *i p'o* is used for 'one bid.' 關撲 *Kuan p'o* was a common expression in the Sung dynasty meaning apparently, as Professor Pelliot suggests, 'séances de lutte.' The phrase is quoted, but not explained, in the *T'zŭ yüan*, as an example of 撲 *P'o* meaning 相撲 *hsiang p'o*, to 'wrestle' or 'box'; from the 東京夢華錄 *Tung ching mêng hua lu*:— 正月一日年節開封府放關撲三日 As the words are explained in no dictionary known to me, other examples are here given with their context. 夢粱錄 *Mêng liang lu*, c. 1, fol. 1r°; 街坊以食物動使冠梳領抹緞匹花朵玩具等物沿門歌叫關撲不論貧富 ... ; c. 19, fol. 1: 每歲春月放人遊玩堂宇內頓放買賣關撲並體內庭規式如龍船鬧竿花籃花工用七寶珠翠奇巧裝結花朵冠梳並皆時樣官窰碗碟列古玩具鋪列堂右做如關撲歌叫之聲清婉可聽; 武林舊事 *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 3 fol. 8v°: (都人避暑) ... 飲芥辣白醪凉水冰雪爽口之物關撲香毬畫扇淨花珠佩而茉莉爲最盛; c. 6 fol. 6v° (游手) ... 有所謂 ... 櫃坊賭局以博戲關撲結鶯手法騙錢; c. 7 fol. 2r°: (An entertainment in the Palace, April, 1167) 至後苑看花兩廊並是小內侍及幕士效學西湖鋪放珠翠花朵玩具匹帛及花鼓鬧竿市食等許從內人關撲次至毬場看小內侍拋綵毬 ... For 相撲 *Hsiang p'o* see *Mêng liang lu* c. 20 fol. 12v°: 角抵者相撲之異名也又謂之爭交; fol. 13r°: 瓦市相撲者.

Of the *Wa*, or disreputable houses, more must be said below. Yüan Hsiao is the Feast of Lanterns, the 15th of the first month, the festival being kept up for three days. 和買 *Ho mai* is a technical expression used in the Sung dynasty to describe a system by which public money was advanced to silk farmers in the early spring to be repaid by them in kind in the summer or autumn. This is said to have been first done at the end of the tenth or early in the eleventh century. See *T'zŭ yüan*, s.v. 和.

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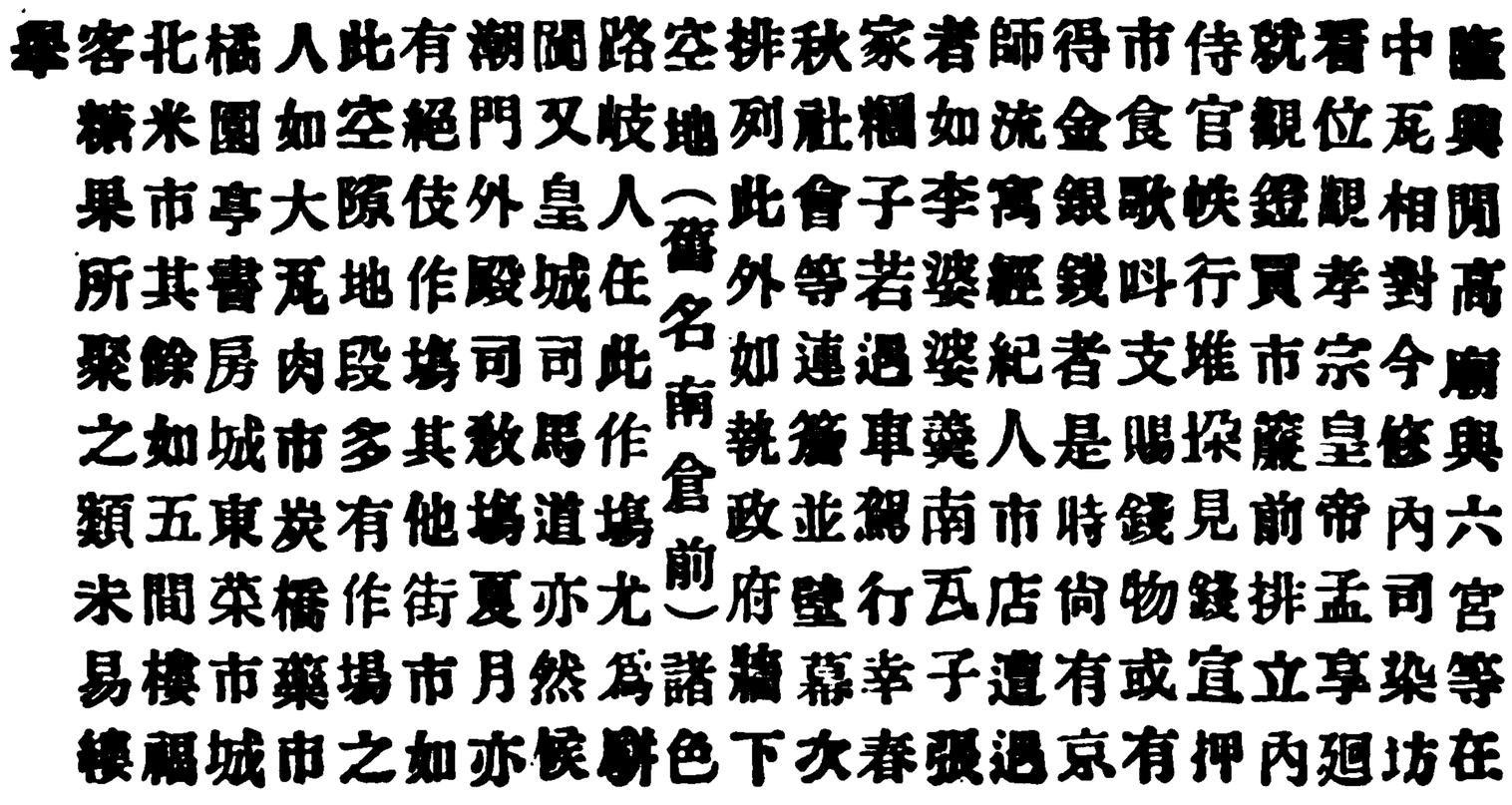
South Wa-tzŭ. On occasions when the Imperial carriages went in state to the spring or autumn holiday gatherings, booths were set up in rows touching one another with their eaves continuous. Besides these all sorts of street performers took up their positions here in the open space under the wall of the Chih-chêng office, which used to be called the Front of the south Granary, where they were still more closely packed. And again on the ramp (?) at the Huang ch'êng ssŭ it is the same, and on the parade ground of the Tien ssŭ outside the Hou-ch'ao gate all sorts of performers take their station in the summer. In the empty spaces in the other streets and markets there are for the most part men at their stations in this way, as for example in the meat market at the Great Wa, the drug market at the T'an bridge, the book shops at the Chü-yüan pavilion, in the vegetable market east of the city or the rice market north of the city. The rest such as the Wu-chien tower where the Fu chou (?) dealers in sweet-meats congregate, it is not easy to record in detail.



(To be continued).

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SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TEXTS OF THE SHU-CHING

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY.

Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells how at the Burning of the Books in B.C. 213, a scholar Fu Shêng 伏生 of wide learning hid his copy of the *Shu-ching*, but when times were better under the Han dynasty he was able to recover only twenty-nine of the books, which he used for teaching on the borders between Ch'i and Lu, and how the emperor Wên (B.C. 178-156) hearing of it summoned him to court : but the scholar now being turned ninety years of age was unfit to travel ; so an imperial officer was commissioned to fetch the books. As they were Fu Shêng's own books which he had used before the Burning and had expounded to his people for a number of years, they had probably been reduced to the modern script by himself ; at least they were in this form when presented to the court and hence are called the Modern Text. There is general agreement upon twenty-eight of them ; some think that the other book consisted of the Preface, but the more usual opinion, accepted by both Professor Chavannes and Dr. Legge, is that the twenty-ninth was *The Great Declaration*.

Ssŭ-ma also tells us that the K'ung family possessed a copy of the *Shu-ching* in the ancient script, and that the books were deciphered by his own contemporary K'ung An-kuo 孔安國 who thus added "more than ten" to those of Fu Shêng. The History of the Former Han explains that they were found in a wall when the old house of the family was pulled down and that An-kuo "took the whole of his *Shu-ching* and by it verified 以考 the twenty-nine books (of Fu Shêng) and had sixteen others." K'ung An-kuo's is known as the Ancient Text. Liu Hsin 劉歆, custodian of the Han Library, says that his father Hsiang 向 (B.C.80-9) compared these books with those of Fu Shêng, and found three tablets, one from the *Announcement on Wine*, and two from the *Announcement of Shao*, and several tens of characters missing

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whilst more than 700 characters were different. The earliest list of the Ancient Text which has come down to us is that of Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127-200),* but, as we shall see, Dr. Legge disputes whether they are those of An-kuo. This list also contains sixteen books which are not in the Modern Text. After the Han all mention of the Ancient Text disappears from extant catalogues of the Imperial Libraries until Mei-Tsê 梅賾 presented a copy of it to the Emperor Yüan (A.D. 317-322) of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. The names of the books of the Mei-Tsê Ancient Text which are in Chêng Hsüan's list number only eleven and, as we shall see, two of them, the *Canon of Shun* and the *I-chi* are said to have been obtained by dividing the *Canon of Yao* and the *Counsel of Kao-yao* of the Modern Text, leaving only nine of Chêng Hsüan's Ancient Text. To these are added ten whose names are entirely new, but one of them, the *Announcement of king K'ang* is thought to have been obtained by dividing the *Testamentary Charge* of the Modern Text, leaving really only nine new ones. According to this the fifty books of thç *Shu-ching* as completed by Mei-Tsê contains thirty-two from Fu Shêng's Modern and eighteen from the Ancient Text, and of these last nine are entirely new. This edition, combining the Modern and the Ancient Texts, was adopted by the National College towards the end of the 5th century and is the present *textus receptus*. Doubts concerning Mei-Tsê's Ancient Text arose in the T'ang dynasty and were encouraged by Chu Hsi, the prince of Chinese critics. Professor Chavannes assures us that it is rejected, by all modern scholars of eminence, and he entirely concurred with them; whilst Dr. Legge without misgiving accepted the whole of the present *Shu-ching*.

Dr. Legge adduced evidence to show that although not in the imperial libraries after the Han, the Ancient Text was never lost to scholars.† He tells us that Chêng Hsüan was an adherent of

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* According to Dr. Legge this list is only preserved in a quotation by K'ung Ying-ta (A.D. 574-648).

† The list of scholars between the Former Han and Tsin dynasties which he adduces are Yin Min 尹敏 A.D. 25-73; in his early years he studied the Modern Text, but later preferred the Ancient; Chou fang 周防; K'ung Hsi 孔僖, in the reign of the Emperor An, A.D. 107-125; Yang Lun 楊倫 contemporary with the above and carrying on to A.D. 150; at first he adhered to the Modern Text; Wang Su 王肅 of Wei; active life, A.D. 221-256; he wrote a commentary on the *Shu-ching* of the Ancient Text which was in the library of the Sui dynasty; Huang-p'u Mi 皇甫謐 connecting with the Tsin dynasty; he wrote an historical work which "everywhere quotes the 58 books of An-kuo's Ancient Text." Dr. Legge appears to cull these names from the official histories and adds that of Liang Liu 梁柳 from "another source" as possessing An-kuo's text and commentary. He was Huang-p'u's teacher.

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the "Lacquered Books," * which are said to have been found, also in the Ancient script, by Tu Lin 杜林 when a fugitive during the usurpation of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-23), and were prized by a succession of scholars at the time when the Ancient Text was still in the Imperial Library; he therefore concluded that they were distinct from An-kuo's books. Dr. Legge does not allude to the evidence of the Han History that An-kuo's new books numbered only sixteen.

On the other side Professor Chavannes maintained that there is no trace of the Ancient Text in the third century, but he does not refute the contrary evidence put forth by his predecessor. He thought that Chêng Hsüan's list being the oldest that we have and containing the same number of books as that given in the Han History must be accepted as the genuine list of all An-kuo's books. He laid stress upon the fact that Ssŭ-ma never quotes books which are peculiar to Mei-tsê and that the few passageswhich he takes from An-kuo are not in Mei-tsê's edition.†

The above summary in a few brief paragraphs opens a wide field and it will be readily understood that a full investigation of the various texts of the *Shu-ching* demands intimate acquaintance with Chinese literature. To this the present writer can make no claim. If, however, an amateur may be allowed to form a

* He refers to the History of the After Han, which says, "Tu Lin obtained the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching*; Chia K'uei 賈逵 of the same district wrote his instructions on it. Ma Jung 馬融 wrote his commentary and Chêng Hsüan wrote his Comments and Explanations." This is not quite explicit concerning Chêng Hsüan; and Dr. Legge admits that there was generally some confusion between the Lacquered Books and those of An-kuo. He further quotes from Chêng Hsüan's own preface, as preserved by K'ung Ying-ta, to the effect that he was a follower of An-kuo.

† Chavannes allows only one certain quotation from the Ancient Text; it is from the *Announcement of T'ang* and he makes it a principal argument against Mei-tsê's version that it does not contain this passage. Ssŭ-ma does not say that it is from that book. True, it was not his usual practice to specify the source of the material which he used, so this may be from the *Announcement of T'ang* with which he seems to connect it. But, since he drew from other sources besides the *Shu-ching*, we can only be sure that any passage is from the classic by finding it there, and this one in particular is open to suspicion because it carries Yü's empire as far south as the Yangtze; whereas no book and no ode until about the time of king Hsüan even mentions the Yangtze. In this respect Mei-tsê's *Announcement of T'ang* is more true or less untrue to history than Ssŭ-ma's.

Pan Ku 班固 (died A.D. 92) in the Han History says, "Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien consulted An-kuo's books; hence his *Canon of Yao*, *Tribute of Yu*, *Great Plan*, *Viscount of Wei*, and the *Metal-bound Coffer* all contain many readings from the Ancient Text." Chavannes admits a certain number, mostly only verbal variations, but insists that in many more Ssŭ-ma preferred the Modern Text.

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provisional opinion upon the evidence furnished by our two leading *savants*, one for and one against, it will perhaps be that Prof. Chavannes established his contention that Chêng Hsüan gives the names of all An-kuo's books of the Ancient Text, and that those which are not on the list are spurious, but he has not given sufficient evidence that the others are necessarily to be rejected.

The question of the genuine nature of the present Ancient Text is not settled by tracing it to An-kuo ; it must also be shown that An-kuo's new books themselves were authentic. The fact of some books being discovered in Confucius' old house rests upon much the same evidence, or even better than does the discovery of Fu Shêng's books, but there is this difference that while the Modern Text was accepted by competent scholars the Ancient Text was evidently regarded from the first with suspicion. Why did Ssŭ-ma use it so very sparingly ? And why, after it had been transcribed into the modern script precisely as Fu Shêng's had been, was it kept apart as a separate version, instead of combining its additional books with the previous ones into a single edition of the *Shu-ching ?* It may be impossible to show the precise nature of the material which emerged from the old house, but before the books which were presented by An-kuo are received with the same confidence which we give to the Modern Text the suspicion of contemporary scholars should meet with a satisfactory explanation.

Dr. Legge suggested that Ssŭ-ma was prevented from using the Ancient Text because of the difficulty of the script. This surely does the great historian an injustice. Prof. Chavannes gives him more credit by supposing that the books failed to satisfy his critical perception. He can only account for the scanty use to which he put them by their being made up, as best might be, of scattered fragments from various sources ;* the result, he thought, was too unsatisfactory to please a scholar of Ssŭ-ma's calibre, and the loss of the books need not be regretted. Thus low had the descendants of the Master and of Tzŭ-ssŭ sunk in their appreciation of literature. Fragmentary nature of the

* He points to passages in Ssŭ-ma which are specifically said to be from the *Shu-ching*, but cannot now be traced to it, to show that at that time such fragments or quotations existed and were probably numerous; indeed the Han catalogue, after entering the editions of the *Shu-ching* says that there were still seventy-one *pien* (Legge). So far, good; but Chavannes has not made it clear that these quotations are not from An-kuo's books which, according to his theory, are lost. The quotations are mostly in Ssŭ-ma's biographies, which were written after he probably had access to the Ancient Text, while his earlier chapters were completed before.

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books would also account for Ssŭ-ma not committing himself to the exact number unlike he did in the case of Fu-shêng's books; but he says that more then ten fresh "books," *pien*, were found, and though perhaps not complete, their being recognized as separate books and their titles therefore probably known, it is surprising that they did not afford him some additional material for his history. The reason for his neglect of them probably lay deeper.

Some modern Chinese critics have gone beyond Chu Hsi and have doubted whether even the discovery of books in Confucius' house was genuine. Ssŭ-ma, though perhaps not of mature years when they appeared, was contemporary with An-kuo and expressed no doubt about the reality of a discovery having been made. He does not give the date, and later writers are uncertain. Prof. Chavannes' opinion—not arrived at in view of this question—was that the house was probably pulled down towards the end of the Emperor Ching's reign (B.C. 156-141).* If so, at least forty-five years had elapsed before the books were rendered fit for presentation. The task of deciphering them was doubtless considerable, but with the Modern Text at hand it should hardly have taken so long supposing the tablets to have been in good condition. An-kuo died prematurely, but he was living in B.C. 91 and therefore in the reign of Emperor Ching. He was too young to be given charge of the Books and no suspicion of want of fair dealing can justly attach to him, but in whose hands were the books meanwhile? In order to account for a certain peculiarity in the Ancient Text Professor Chavannes' theory may perhaps be modified by supposing that the tablets, originally from a good text, were so much injured by their immurement as to be incapable of being pieced together and that more was done to them than what literary honesty allowed. In reading the story of the finding of the *Shu-ching* our attention is drawn to the coincidence, assumed by all writers and more clearly affirmed by the History of the After Han (see below) as well as by Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, that all the books which Fu Shêng had been able to preserve were also

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* The History of the dynasty says that king Kung 共 of Lu pulled down the house in the latter years of the Emperor Wu; but king Kung died in the 14th year of the Emperor, who reigned for fifty-four years and died in B.C. 87. The discovery then was not exactly towards the close of his reign and there is an inaccuracy somewhere in the statement of the History. The error may have been in reading king Kung instead of king Ai; even then they must have been discovered more than ten years before Wu's death. Prof. Chavannes is therefore inclined to accept the statement of Wang ch'ung 王充, of about the same date as the writer of the History, that it was in the reign of the Emperor Ching. (Died B.C. 140). An-kuo presented the books to the throne "after the period Tien-han 天漢" (B.C. 100-97).

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recovered from Confucius' old house. The first collection contained only just over one-third of the eighty-one books of the classic, and the second, comprising only five-eighths of the whole, chanced to include every book of the first.* Here then is a surprising coincidence which arouses suspicion, not of any books being found, but of the genuineness of those which, after a mysterious delay, were presented at court.

In this connection we may point out another coincidence which, however, only affects Mei Tsê's edition. It is that all the passages which are quoted in the Four Books and the *Tso-chuan* specifically quoted from the *Shu-ching* are incorporated in the Ancient Text with sufficient similarity to justify the belief that they are put forth as the originals.†

Whilst we may have doubts concerning the authenticity of the Ancient Text as it was given to the world none of them perhaps are final, and, after all, Ssŭ-ma's small use of the Text may be explained more simply. At the time of its presentation to the Emperor he was in disgrace through his chivalrous advocacy of Li Ling. Twelve years had already passed since his father from his death-bed charged him to complete his scheme of writing a great history and gave him the material he had already collected. The son had probably made progress with the work when his trouble fell and he tells us that in his retirement he applied himself to it more assiduously. It is to be supposed then, that when he was restored to public life those chapters at least which deal with the time of the *Shu-ching* were finished ; he was not a wealthy man and now without influence would not have the means for becoming acquainted with An-kuo's books. His later tables and biographies show that he continued to add to them during the rest of his life ; this was all new matter ; but the recently found books of the *Shu-ching* probably added little fresh to the history of the dynasties beyond what he had already incorporated from the Preface, except perhaps *The Counsels of the Great Yü*,‡ and modern historians

* It indeed is not definitely said that every book of the Modern Text was in An-kuo's collection, but it is so implied, and certainly almost all of them were in it, as Prof. Chavannes says. The surprising feature of the coincidence remains.

† Dr. Legge's suggestion that the books now lost disappeared in the Chou dynasty before the Burning has much to be said for it. Doubtless there were more copies of the more valuable of the books, and it may be that Confucius' old house concealed all the books which were commonly quoted and which were extant at the time of the Burning. If so this second of the two coincidences which we have mentioned does not really exist.

‡ The present text of this book contains an account of Yü's remarkable expedition against the Miao. The moral is to preach orthodox principles about the influence of humility and virtue, but it is distinctly derogatory to the Confucian hero.

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may rejoice that instead of spending labour in revising his chapters upon those legendary times, he chose to bring his tables and biographies up to date. Allowing that the Ancient Text appeared too late for Ssŭ-ma's use does not account for its lack of general acceptance. He had not yet attained to the dominant position as an historical authority which he afterwards held, and the small use to which he put the books was rather a symptom than the cause of their neglect by scholars. In a later generation Liu Hsin ardently advocated their recognition, but opposition was too strong. It is to the credit of criticism in those times that, eager as scholars were to recover the old literature, they would not accept everything which was offered, and their slowness to receive the Ancient Text is presumptive against its authenticity.

Some of the individual books of the *Shu-ching* call for special attention. Our two great scholars are agreed that Fu Shêng's *Canon of Yao*, *Counsels of Kao-yao* and *Testamentary Charge* included respectively the present *Canon of Shun*, the *I-Chi* and the *Announcement of K'ang*. Dr. Legge thought that Fu Shêng had made a mistake in joining the three pairs together, and that in the present text we have the original *Canon of Shun*, *I-Chi* and *Announcement of king K'ang*. Prof. Chavannes held the contrary, that the originals of these three described in the Preface are lost.*

The *Great Declaration* is of more importance and demands as careful attention as can be given to it. Ssŭ-ma's histories of the founding of the Chou dynasty and the marquisate of Ch'i leave little doubt that he had a version of this book and made considerable use of it. Since he seldom quoted the Ancient Text and since the *Great Declaration* is not on Chêng Hsüan's † list as given

* The evidence on both sides is slight except in the case of the *Canon of Shun* which Mencius quotes as the *Canon of Yao*.

† There is an obscurity in both Legge and Chavannes on this point which calls for care in examining their arguments. K'ung Ying-ta, as appears from Legge (he has not made it clear whether K'ung is quoting directly from Chêng Hsüan or merely giving the result of his own investigation. Prof. Chavannes here enters into no details) does not give Chêng Hsüan's list by itself, but one of all the books which he had, that is, a combined list of the Modern and Ancient Texts of his time. The *Great Declaration* was amongst these books. Prof. Chavannes appears to have deducted from this list the twenty-nine of the Modern Text including the *Great Declaration* and so obtained the sixteen which he gives, without explaining his method, as Chêng Hsüan's list of the Ancient Text; but this supposes that the *Great Declaration* was in the Modern Text; if it were not then Chêng Hsüan's list of the Ancient Text must have included seventeen books, and much of Prof. Chavannes' main argument is upset. The case for including the *Great Declaration* in the Modern Text stands thus: first, if it were not there, the number of books in the oldest list of the Ancient Text does not agree with the number found in Confucius' house; secondly, the pseudo *Great Declaration* to replace the old one of Ssŭ-ma, was, as we shall see from Wang Ch'ung, put with the Modern Text.

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by Chavannes, it must have been in the Modern Text, unless the story of its recovery at the end of Emperor Wu's reign be true, in which case Ssŭ-ma may possibly have used it. The story depends upon Liu Hsiang (B.C. 86-15) as quoted by K'ung Ying-ta; he gives no particulars and it is not confirmed by any contemporary scholar; on the contrary another account says that it was found in the time of Emperor Hsüan (B.C. 73-47).* The weight of evidence is in favour of Ssŭ-ma's *Great Declaration* being one of Fu Shêng's books; † but it does not contain the two quotations given by Mencius ‡ and it follows that the full text is lost. Why should it alone of the twenty-nine have met this fate? Here we are driven to conjecture. Fu Shêng's books were in high esteem; if one of much importance was allowed to drop there must surely have been something in it which did not satisfy the criticism of the time. Dr. Legge's suggestion that this was its "mild extravagance" about the white fish and the flame of fire is perhaps the only way to explain its loss. It is for this reason that we may think that the Modern Text really contained those incidents which otherwise Ssŭ-ma might have had from a different source. Times had changed since Mencius was free to admit that the *Shu-ching* in full soberness recorded incredible marvels: now it was regarded as the treasury of historic truth in which there could be no absurdity; therefore it was felt that Fu Shêng's *Great Declaration*, as Dr. Legge puts it, cannot have received the *imprimatur* of Confucius. And they were indeed right, in so far as the *Shu-ching*, although it contained exaggerations which offended Mencius, has nothing else of the same nature as those two incidents. Still the conclusion that the *Great Declaration* of Fu Shêng is therefore of

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* Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27-97) has it that a girl of Ho-nei amongst other books found one of the *Shu-ching* in the time of the Emperor Hsüan, so that the *Shu-ching* "for the first time had twenty-nine books." He does not give its name, but according to K'ung Ying-ta, the History of the After Han says that a girl of Ho-nei found the Great Declaration in the first year of that Emperor. Prof. Chavannes, it would appear chiefly to show that Ssŭ-ma was independent of the later discovery, preferred this date of B.C. 73. Its only value is to disparage still more the earlier date.

† If it were not, the only alternative is that Fu Shêng's twenty-ninth book was the Preface. Chavannes, it would again seem chiefly to strengthen his argument in favour of the *Great Declaration*, maintained that the Preface did not originally constitute a separate book, but that its paragraphs were dispersed as headings throughout the classics. Ssŭ-ma naturally thus separated them; Chavannes, however, did not explain how if the paragraphs were not together, Ssŭ-ma came to have those of the lost books. Most of the books of the classics have their own introductory note of explanation and the only apparent use of the Preface would be as a summary of the whole.

‡ Mencius III b.v.6; Va, v.8.

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late origin does not follow. The *Shu-ching* testifies on almost every page that the purpose of its compiler was to instil morals rather than to preserve history. He was one of the advanced free-thinkers of his time ; he selected his documents in order to teach certain views in philosophy and ethics, and the suspicion that he may have expurgated even his selected documents lurks throughout his work. Several generations later we find belief in prodigies and omens widely prevalent and it must have been still more deeply implanted in the minds of the best people at the time when the Chou dynasty was founded. It is not too much to think that when the selected and perhaps expurgated documents were brought together the originals still survived and were cherished by scholars less advanced in philosophical opinions. To this class of men Fu Shêng belonged, and he preferred the older, more authentic version of the *Great Declaration*, describing the central movements of those spacious times. If we may carry the conjecture to its conclusion, the Han scholars, finding his version of the book so distasteful, would set about amending it or making another version of it ; by whatever method a new version grew up and the story of its discovery grew with it. The vagueness of the story uncorroborated by contemporary evidence is against its being the real book of the compiler, and the doubt is increased by its being another of those happy coincidences which we have noticed in the Ancient Text. It certainly was a fortunate chance that the only recorded discovery of a single book of the classic should be this more pleasing version of the disparaged *Great Declaration*. Though we do not accept the genesis of the book as given by Wang Ch'ung, his statement that after its appearance the Modern Text for the first time completed its twenty-nine books shows that the new version replaced the old one of the Modern Text and so is probably the one now in the classic. Though it may have appeared somewhat earlier than the books which are peculiar to Mei Tsê and though, like them it may possibly be the genuine book of the compiler, there is no proof, and to us it does not carry greater weight than they do and so should be put in the same category with them.

The fifty books of the present *Shu-ching* may thus be arranged in classes according to their authenticity.

A. Thirty-one from the Modern Text. These alone are accepted by Prof. Chavannes. Those bracketed were originally one.

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1. Canon of Yao
2. Canon of Shun
3. Counsels of Kao-yao
4. I-Chi
5. Tribute of Yü
6. Speech at Kan
7. Speech of T'ang
8. P'an-Kêng
9. Sacrifice of Kao-Chung
10. Conquest of Li
11. Viscount of Wei
12. Speech at Mu
13. Great Plan
14. Metal-bound Coffer
15. Great Announcement
16. Announcement to K'ang
17. Announcement on Wine
18. Tszŭ tree
19. Announcement of Shao
20. Announcement on Lo
21. Numerous Officers
22. Against Luxury
23. Prince Shih
24. Numerous Regions
25. Establishment of the Government
26. Testamentary Charge
27. Announcement of king K'ang
28. Lü on Punishments
29. Charge to Marquis Wên
30. Speech at Pi
31. Speech of Ch'in

B. Nine which being on Chêng Hsüan's list possibly were in An-kuo's Ancient Text.

1. Counsels of Yü the Great
2. Song of the Five Sons
3. Punitive Expedition of Ying
4. Announcement of T'ang
5. Instructions of I.
6. Both Possessed Pure Virtue
7. Completion of the War
8. Hounds of Lü
9. Charge to Ch'iung

C. Nine which cannot be traced beyond Mei Tsê and the *Great Declaration.*

1. Announcement of Chung Hui
2. T'ai-Chia
3. Charge to Yüeh
4. Charge to the Viscount of Wei
5. Charge to Ts'ai Chung
6. Officers of Chou
7. Prince Ch'ên
8. Charge to Pi.
9. Prince Ya

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the value of the genuine *Shu-ching*, but only to assist in the establishment of a pure text; that is, chiefly, the authenticity or otherwise of Mei Tsê's books. We will now look at the internal evidence on this point as briefly as we have the external.

Chinese opponents of the Ancient Text have urged the comparative smoothness and perspicuity of its style which they think point to later composition. No language can remain precisely the same for two thousand years and that in Mei Tsê's time would show differences from a document of the early Shang

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dynasty which even a non-Chinese could easily recognise, provided that it were perfectly unaffected. The supposition, however, is that Mei Tsê forged these documents, and he must to the best of his ability have imitated the style of the genuine *Shu-ching*; but he would make mistakes which might even then be detected by one thoroughly conversant with Chinese. It is therefore, only intelligent and unprejudiced native scholars with perhaps a few of the best western scholars who should venture into this field of criticism. With more painstaking exactitude than has hitherto been given to it the method would produce valuable results. The books profess to extend over a considerable space of time and obviously it would not do to take the Ancient and Modern Texts *en bloc*. Those supposed to be of the same period should be compared separately from the others. Dr. Legge found differences in style between the 'Announcements' and the 'Charges'; the documentary and non-documentary books should therefore also be distinguished, and the two classes of the same period but of different texts would have to be compared. In all cases the explanatory and connecting passages added by the compiler of the classic are to be distinguished from the original documents; it is here that scholarship is most required.

Apart from the style and verbal expressions, the thought and opinions of the two texts open out a field for internal criticism where a foreigner may roam without professing deep knowledge of Chinese.

We will first take the subject of History. The documents which are in the Modern Text taken from the early Chou dynasty look back to Yü the Great as the great exemplar of what a king should be * and not to Yao or Shun. The earliest allusion to either Yao or Shun in the documents of the Modern Text is in the *Lü on Punishments* of the time of king Wu; the name is not given and it is not clear which of them is meant: and he is alluded to only for a particular incident. Except for this passage all our knowledge of Yao and Shun in the Modern Text is from the compiler who did his work not long before the Confucian period, and since he wrote Yao and Shun became the models instead of Yü. This later outlook is also that of the Ancient Text, but is only found in books peculiar to Mei Tsê †.

* *Shu-ching* xix, 22; iv, 3. The reference in the latter of these passages may only be to his labour upon the flood: but if so, it had no particular reference to the bestowal of the Great Plan. Had Yao and Shun been known, why should not a reason have been found for the Plan not being given to them instead of only not to his father Kuan?

† *Shu-ching* IV, viii, (iii), 10; V, xx, 3.

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On the other hand by the time of the appearance of the Ancient Text, although Yü's moral excellence had become overshadowed by that of Yao and Shun, his extensive empire had been taught, vaguely by the Compiler in the *I-chi* and more definitely by the writer of the *Tribute of Yü* both of comparatively late date, and it is in favour of the authenticity of the *Song of the Five Sons* which is on Chêng Hsüan's list, that it should be content to confine Yü's rule to a single province.* Again, an ode of king Wu's time† says that the Chou family had its origin on the rivers Ch'i and Chu. From this T'an Fu moved his people to the plain of Chou ; he was their first great leader and therefore is called the "ancient" duke. Later the legend of duke Liu sprang up recording a previous emigration.‡ Duke Liu is only known in the *Shu-ching* from a passage in the Ancient Text professedly of king Wu's own time.§

In philosophy the Earth is combined with Heaven as two co-ordinate powers only in Mei Tsê's Ancient Text and the *Great Declaration*.¶ The still later conception of the *Yin* and *Yang* as universal influences of nature is not alluded to in the *Tso-chuan* ‖ or the Four Books and doubtfully even in the *Tao-tê Ching*. The idea is essentially philosophic, depending upon the assumption of the *t'ai-i* and probably is not met with in an undoubted work before about the time of Chuang-Tzŭ ; yet the *Officers of Chou* teaches the theory in its full form of two opposing influences pervading all things and in need of adjustment or correction.

In religion there is no sign of the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor in the Modern Text of the *Shu-ching*, and the early ancestral odes of the dynasty never mention more than three generations back ; but *Both Possess Pure Virtue* of the Ancient Text, alluding to the doctrine of the Remote Ancestors calls the

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* So also the *Announcement of T'ang* in the present text rejects Ssŭ-ma's passage apparently from that book which extends Yü's empire to the Yangtze.

† Odes, III. i 3. Its date is presumed by its praising the kings before Wu, but not him.

‡ Odes, III. ii, 6.

§ *Shu-ching* V. iii, 5. The book is on our B list. The Duke Liu ode, besides being counter to the obvious meaning of the T'an Fu ode in tracing the family to an earlier seat, pictures a more advanced civilization for the remoter time (see Legge *in loc.*) and also lands us into geographical difficulties. Its date cannot be fixed.

¶ *Shu-ching* V. i. (i), 3 ; xx, 6.

‖ *Tso chuan*, 1st yr. of Duke Chao, 11th paragraph, mentions the Yin and Yang as one of three pairs of natural influences.

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temple of the early half of the Shang dynasty "seven shrined." * Again the term *Shang-ti* and *Ti* in the same sense is used in the Modern Text only in two documents of the Shang† but in twelve of the Chou. It is probable that the cult reached its height in the early reigns of the Chou dynasty. After the Han, and indeed before, the term is seldom met with in imperial manifestos, so that a forger would imagine it to be of high antiquity, and we find that in the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching* it occurs in five of the six documents of the Shang ‡ and in only two of the nine Chou documents §; he may have been influenced—should we say misled ?—by the example of the compiler in the first five books of the classic who, however, did not profess to quote documents.

The title "Son of Heaven" is not found in the Modern Text until the Chou dynasty, but in the Ancient Text it is said to have been in use under the Hsia and Shang.¶ Also the title of 'duke' is not found before the Chou dynasty except in the *Charge to Yüeh*, a book peculiar to Mei Tsê.

The geographical expression "the four seas" occurs in the Modern Text only in the books of the compiler and in the *Tribute of Yü*, all of which were written in mid-Chou times. In other books of this Text the sea is regarded as one, and probably always refers to the east, as in the sentence "beyond the corners of the sea and the rising sun." (*Shu-ching* V xvi, 21). On the other hand "four seas" occurs thrice in documents before the mid-Chou time, where it is said to have been used as far back as T'ang the Successful, and twice in the Great Declaration.‖

The sum of the above, if substantiated, is to show that the Ancient Text tends to ascribe an earlier use of customs and ideas than what is justified by the Modern Text. Agreements with

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* The Shang ancestral Odes both imply the doctrine. Ssŭ-ma affirms their late composition and they must be put in contrast with the Chou Odes.

† *Shu-ching* IV. i. 2; vii. (iii), 6.

‡ *Shu-ching* IV. ii, 3; iii, 2, 8; iv, 8; v, (iii), 3; viii, (1), 2. Two of the books are Chêng Hsüan's and three are only in Mei Tsê.

§ *Shu-ching* V iii, 6; viii, 3.

¶ H. III. iv, 5; IV. viii. (i), 1, both books of Chêng Hsüan. The *Great Plan* is the first book of the Modern Text to use the title; by some the *Great Plan* is thought to be a relic of the Hsia dynasty. It is an epitome by the Viscount of Wei of the early teaching; but the expressions are probably his own. He, however, was of the House of Shang, and his use of the title may show that it was applied to the late Shang kings.

‖ *Shu-ching* IV. iv, 4; viii, (iii), 8; V. I, (i), 11; (iii), 3; iii, 9.
In III. iv, 1, also of the Ancient Text, the expression is in the introductory note, probably by the compiler, and so it is not to be counted.

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the Modern Text which might not be expected in the work of a forger are more difficult of detection; this may account for the non-extension of Yü's empire being the sole point which we have found in favour of the Ancient Text and it applies only to our B list. More minute attention may bring other agreements to light.

In conclusion, let the need for more accurate knowledge of early Chinese history, especially of the fermenting times of the Chou dynasty, be urged. Archæologists have not yet worked in this field and probably never will achieve like results as have rewarded their labours elsewhere. Meanwhile the great literary need is to determine what authority justly belongs to the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching*. This is not beyond the powers of scholarship. Two great men of the recent past have given their contrary opinions in detail. Our present leaders should not let the work languish until something like a consensus of opinion is reached.

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A RELATION OF THE KINGDOME OF COCHIN-CHINA.

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

Cochin-China: Containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Countrey. Extracted out of an Italian Relation, lately presented to the Pope, by Christophoro Barri, that liued certaine yeeres there. London, 1633.

∴

IN my library I recently discovered a long-forgotten little volume with the above title. It is a well-bound crown-octavo work with a plethora of blank fly-leaves on which successive owners have inscribed their names, and some booksellers its market value at various periods. The pages of the book are not numbered, but amount to only about seventy in all. After the elaborate title-page comes "The Epistle Dedicatory": "To the Right worthy Knight Sir Maurice Abbot, Gouernour of the Honourable Company of Merchants, trading to the *East Indies*; and the rest of that renowned Society." It is an appeal to merchants to continue the collection of accounts of travel in all parts of the world ("even to the ends of the world dispersed"), and is signed by Robert Ashley, the publisher. It is followed by "The Preface Apologeticall," unsigned, a discursive appeal, well sprinkled with Latin quotations, to "two sorts of people likely to be least satisfied with the Publication of this Relation"—the one, those who regard China and Cochin-China to be so far distant as "to concerne vs so little, that it is but lost labour, to be curious or inquisitiue how Men liue there," etc.; the other, the "sort that suddenly

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censure all strange Reports of things which they haue not seene at home, or are not common in the Countreyes next confining, to bee leasings and lies."

The book is divided into eight chapters, dealing with "The Name, Situation, and Greatnesse of this Kingdome," "The Climate, and quality of the Countrey," "The Fertillity of the Land," "The Elephants and Rhinoceros," "The Temperament, Manners, and Customes of the *Cochin-Chinois*, Of their manner of Liuing, Clothing, and Medicines," "The Ciuill and Politicke Gouernement," "The Forces of the King, and of the warres he hath within his Kingdome." and "The Commerce, Ports, and Hauens, of Cochin-China."

To review a book published two hundred and eighty-seven years ago in the light of more recent knowledge would hardly be fair. I propose, therefore, merely to make some extracts from the work, as being of interest from an archaic point of view and as showing (now that old things are becoming new) the difference between the state of things existing in Cochin-China then and now. I retain the old style of spelling (including numerous inconsistencies), with the exception of the long s(f), which frequently repeated is, nowadays, apt to be irritating.

OF THE NAME AND SITUATION OF THIS KINGDOME.—*Cochin-China* being so named by the *Portugals*, is called in the language of the Originarie inhabitants *Anam*, which is the West, in regard it is situate on the West of *China*; in respect whereof the *Iapaneses* called it by the name of *Coci*, which in their tongue hath the same signification that *Anam* hath with the *Cochin-Chineses*: But the *Portugals* which trafique in *Anam*, are they which of the *Iaponian* word *Coci* and of *China*, haue made and compounded this word *Cochin-China*, being as much to say, as *Cochin* of *China*, to distinguish it from *Cochin* a City of *India* frequented by them. And whereas in many Mapps *Cochin-China* is commonly called or designed by the name of *Cauchin-China*, or *Cauchine*, or some other; It proceedeth either of their corrupting the proper name, or else because the makers of the Mapps would signifie, that this Kingdome is the entrance and beginning of *China*.

Cochin-China on the South, confines with the kingdome of *Chiampa*, about the II. degree of Northerly Latitude, on the North side; yet somewhat Eastward, it bordereth on *Tunchim*; on the East side it hath the Sea of *China*; and on the West North-west the kingdome of *Lays*.

Cochin-China is diuided into fiue Prouinces: The first where the King maketh his abode, ioyneth vpon *Tunchim*, and

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is called *Sinuua*: The second is named *Cacciam*, in which the Prince the Kings sonne doth reside as gouernour: The name of the third is *Quamguia*: The fourth *Quignim*, to which the *Portugals* haue giuen the name of *Pulucambis*: The fifth which bordereth on the Kingdome of *Champa*, is called *Renram*.

OF ITS CLIMATE AND FERTILITY.—This Kingdome being betweene the II. and 17. degree of Northerly latitude, it followeth consequently that the Countrey is rather hot then cold: Yet it is not so hot as *India*, though it haue the same eleuation of the Pole, and bee likewise vnder the Torrid Zone . . . In September, October, and Nouember, being their Autumne the heat ceaseth, and the Aire is very temperate by reason of the continuall raines which doe ordinarily fall at those times on the Mountaines of the *Kemois*; from whence there come waters in such abundance, that they ouerflow all the Countrey, and ioyning themselues with the sea they seeme to be one selfe thing therewith. Moreouer these Inundations of waters come commonly once in a fortnight, continuing about three dayes together. The benefit that commeth thereby, is not only the refreshing of the Aire, but also the fatning of the earth, making it more fruitfull and abundant in all things, and especially in *Rice*, which is the best *Manna*, and the commonest nourishment of all the Kingdome . . .

Hauing thus declared these Inundations; I must also acquaint you with some particular curiosities, and remarkable obseruations thereof, before I conclude this Chapter.

The first shall bee, that they are generally desired of all men, nor onely because the Aire is refreshed by them, becoming more sweet and pleasant, but much more in regard of the fruitfulnesse which they cause in the Earth: Whereupon as soone as they see them, the pleasure and contentment they haue, is such and so great, that they make it sufficiently appeare by their visiting, feasting and presenting one the other, crying oft for ioy, and all repeating and reiterating *Daden Lut, Daden Lut*, which signifieth, the Water is come, the Water is already come: Insomuch that there is none amongst them of what degree or qualitie soeuer but Feasteth and reioyceth: Yea, euen the King himselfe.

Yet in as much as these inundations come so suddenly, and sometime so vnexpected, that when in the Euening they thought not of them, they find themselues in the Morning inuested on all sides, and shut vp in their houses, and that throughout all the Countrey it falls out now and then, that they loose their Cattell, that haue not had the leisure to retire and withdraw them for

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refuge into the hills, and higher places : In regard whereof there is a constitution in the Kingdome, that those Beeues, Goats, Hoggs, and other beasts which are drownd in these deluges, shall no longer belong to the proprietarie and owner of them, but shalbe his that first seiseth on them : which custome occasioneth good sport amongst them, in regard that when the water commeth, they betake themselues to their Boates, in quest of such drowned cattell, with which they afterwards make merry and feast their friends.

The young Children haue also their playes and pastimes according to their age ; by reason that these great plaines couered ouer with *Rice*, abounding likewise with Rats, and Mice, they are forced by the water which hath filled their holes, to saue themselues by swimming, and to climbe vpon the tres for refuge, by meanes whereof the tres are loden with Rats and Mice, in lieu of leaues and fruits : Therupon the boyes get themselues into boates by bands, betaking themselues to the shaking of the tres, dismounting those Rats and Mice, drowning them in the water ; of which their childish disport, there commeth a great good to the Land, which by such meanes remaineth the more cleered and freed of this vermine ; which otherwise by little and little, would much waste and spoile their fields.

The last commodity yet not the least which the *Lut* bringeth, is, that euery one thereby furnisheth and prouideth his house the better of all necessaries ; for in three dayes it maketh all the countrey nauigable euerywhere, with such ease and facilitie, that there is nothing but may easily bee conueyed from one Towne to another : in regard whereof they keepe all their Faires and great Markets at these times, when the concourse is alwayes greater than at any other time of the yeere. In those dayes also they make their prouision of wood for their firing and for Building, which they bring from the Mountaines in their Boates, that passe easily through the streetes, euen into their Houses, which for the purpose are mounted on ranckes of pillars, raised very high to giue the water a free entrance and issue ; euery one retiring meane time into the vppermost story of his House : Vnto which the water (which cannot bee sufficiently admired) the *Lut* or Inundation neuer mounteth ; for they take their measure, so well, through long experience of the height of the waters, that they haue no feare thereof, being well assured that the waters will alwayes remaine below their Buildings.

Albeit one may easily iudge of the fruitfulnes of *Cochin-China*, by the profit which the *Lut* bringeth (as hath beene said) yet somewhat may bee said in particular.

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The Land becommeth so fat and so fruitfull by this *Lut* or ouerflowing, that thrice euery yeere they gather their *Rice*, and that in such great quantity and aboundance, that there is none will labour for his liuing, euery one hauing plentiously whereon to liue. . . .

But beyond all that hath beene said, Gods Prouidence hath priuiledged them with a rare and exquisite kind of food, which in my opinion cannot bee better likened or compared, then to that *Manna* with which the chosen people of God were fed in the Desart. This kind of food is so peculiar to *Cochin-China*, that it is not any where else. That which I will say thereof shall not bee by hearesay, or by report of any other, but by mine owne experience, who haue seene and eaten of it often. There is a little Bird in this Countrey, like vnto a Swallow, which fasteneth his nest to the rocks, on which the waues of the Sea doe beate, and are broken. This little creature taketh with her bill some of the froth of the Sea, and with a certaine humour which shee draweth out of her stomacke, mingling the one with the other, maketh I know not what clay-like bituminous matter, where-with shee after buildeth her nest ; which when it is growne to be dry and hard, becommeth transparent, and of a mingled colour, betwixt yellow and greene. These nests are gathered by those of the Countrey, and being softened and dissolued in water, serue to season all their Meates, either Flesh, or Fish, Hearbes or any thing else ; giuing such a diuersity of relish, and so proper to euery of them, that one would thinke they were prepared with Pepper, Cinamom, Cloues, and all manner of Spices : in such sort, that this little nest is sufficient to season all sorts of Viands without Salt, Oyle or Lard, or any other thing : Which made me say that indeede it resembled the *Manna*, which had in it selfe the taste of all the most sauourie kinds of foode ; but that this is only the worke of a little Bird, whereas the other was prepared by the Angels of God. And of this there is such store, that I haue seene ten little boates loaden with these nests, gathered along the Rocks within the space of halfe a League. But because it is such an exquisite thing, none but the King doth traffique therewith, they are all reserued for him, and the greatest vtterance he maketh of them, is for the King of *China*, who hath them in great esteeme.

They eate not any Milke nor ought made thereof, holding it for a great offence to draw milke from Kine or any other creatures : and their reason for such their scrupulosity is, that they say, the milke was ordained by Nature, for the nourishment of

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the young ones : As if hee to whom the little ones appertaine, could not dispose of the nutriment due vnto them.

They eate certaine things which wee lothe and abhorre as venimous ; namely the *Camelions*, which are greater there, than those which being dried, are brought out of strange Countreyes oftentimes into *Italy*. I haue seene some brought by a friend of mine, bound, and packed vp, which hee cast vpon the burning coales, and as soone as their bands were burnt, they marched faire and softly after their manner, on the liue coales, till such time as they felt the force of the fire, which they indured for a while, being of a very cold constitution ; but in the end they were rosted and broiled, whereupon this friend of mine, drew them to him, and scraping away the burnt skin with a Knife, found their flesh to be exceeding white, which he brayed and sod with a little sawce like vnto Butter, and eate them as a most excellent meat, inuiting me thereunto : But I was contented with the sight of it.

Of the Commerce, Ports and Hauens of Cochin-China.— The Realme of *Cochin-China* being so abundant in all sorts of Commodities, as we haue said, for the life of man ; the people are the lesseaddicted to trauell abroad, and to traffique elsewhere : They doe neuer therefore make further Voyages by Sea, then within the view of the Coasts and bankes of their welbeloued Countrey. Yet they are neuerthelesse willing to giue all Strangers free accesse into their Ports, and take a singular pleasure to see others come to Trade and traffique in their Countrey, not onely out of their Neighbour Prouinces and Kingdomes, but also from remote Countreyes. To which end they neede not vse much Art, seeing that Strangers are allured thither fast enough by the fruitfulnesse of the Countrey, and the riches ouerflowing therein. And therefore not onely those of *Tunchim*, of *Cambogia*, of *Cinceos*, and others their Neighbours doe traffique there, but euery day there arriue Merchants of Countreyes further distant; and from *China*, *Macao*, *Iapan*, *Manilla*, and *Malacca*, which bring Siluer into *Cochin-China*, for the merchandize of the Countrey : Which are not bought, but exchanged with the same Siluer which is sold there as Merchandize, the price thereof being raised or diminished according to the great or little plenty thereof, euen like Silke and other Wares.

The Money with which all things are bought, is of *Letton*, of the like Value as a *French Double, or a Stiuer of the Netherlands*. This Money is exactly round, Printed and marked with the Kings Armes, euery Peece hauing a hole in the midst, through

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which they are filed by thousands, euery file or string of them worth about two crownes.

The *Chinois* and the *Iaponois* are they that make the chiefe negotiation of *Cochin-China*, in a Faire which is yeerely held in one of their Ports, for some foure moneths together: the one bring on their *Ionks*, the value of foure or fiue millions in siluer; and the other vpon certaine vessells which they call *Somes*, an infinite quantity of fine silke, with other of their countrey merchandise. The King receiueth a great reuenue out of this Faire, by his duties and imposts, and the Countrey an vnspeakeable gaine. And as on the one side the *Cochin-Chinois* haue no wrought Stuffes nor Manufactures, because they doe not apply themselues to Manuary trades, by reason of that idlenesse into which their plenty hath plunged them: and that on the other side they are easily inueigled with the curiosities comming from other places, which they higly [*sic*] esteeme; they will buy them at what price soeuer they bee set, and doe not spare for money, to haue such things which of themselues are of little worth; such as Combes, Needles, Bracelets, Beades of glasse to hang in their eares, and such other trifles and womanish curiosities. And I remember that a *Portugal* hauing brought from *Macao* into *Cochin-China* a boxe full of Needles, which could not cost him aboue thirty Ducats, got aboue a thousand; selling them for a Riall a piece in *Cochin-China*, which had not cost him aboue pence [*sic*] a piece in *Macao*. In conclusion, they vie one with the other in buying whatsoeuer they see, so it bee new and brought from farre: for which they disburse their siluer without difficulty. They are very desirous of our Hatts, our Caps, Girdles, Shirts and all our other garments, because they differ from theirs. But aboue all, they make most esteeme of *Corall*. . . .

And because as wee haue said the King of *Cochin-China* doth refuse no Nation to enter, but leaueth it free for all sorts of Strangers, the *Hollanders* came thither also as well as the rest, with their Ships laden with diuers kindes of Merchandise: Whereupon the *Portugals* of *Macao* designed to send an Ambassadour to the King, to intreat him that the *Hollanders* as their sworne enemies, might be excluded out of *Cochin-China*: Wherein they imployed a braue Captaine, called *Ferdinand de Costar*, who effected it with good successe, yet not without much difficulty; preuailing so farre, that the King by his Edict or Proclamation, forbad the *Hollanders* to approach the Countreyes vnder his obedience, or [*sic*] paine of their liues. But those of *Macao* apprehending afterwards, that the said Edict was not well obserued, thought good

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to send a new Embassage into *Cochin-China*, to obtaine a Confirmation thereof; and charged their Deputies to make the King vnderstand, that the affaire concerned his owne Interest, and that if hee did not preuent it, he might haue cause to feare that the *Hollanders* in time (being so crafty and cunning as they are) would assay to inuade some part of his Kingdome of *Cochin-China*, as they had already some other places of the *Indies*. But certaine Persons of good vnderstanding in that Countrey, aduised them not to speake in that sort to the King; because that would bee the very way to make the *Hollanders* haue permission to come to Traffique in that Countrey, and to inuite all *Holland* thither: The Maxime of the *Cochin-Chinois* being not to acknowledge euer any the least apprehension of any Nation in the World. Cleane contrary to the King of *China*, who fearing all, shutteth the Gate against Strangers, permitting no traffique in his Kingdome. . . .

The Wood and Timber of this countrey is the best of all the world, by the iudgement of those that haue been in many places. Amongst that great number and exceeding great diuersitie of tres which they haue, there are two sorts most commonly imployed in their Buildings, which are so incorruptible, that they are not endammaged by being in the water, or vnder the earth: They be so sollid also and so weighty, that they will not swim on the water, but serue for Anchors. One of these kinds of wood is blacke, yet not so blacke as the *Ebeny*: The other is red; being both of them so smooth and euen, that when the Barke is taken away, they need no plaining or smoothing. These tres are called *Tin*, and haply hee should not much be deceiued, that should be of opinion that the tres which *Salomon* vsed in the building of the Temple, were of the same incorruptible Timber; seeing wee know already by the Scripture, that those which he imployed were called *Ligna Thyine*, 2 *Chro.* 9 10. 11. which approacheth very neere their name. . . .

Now whiles we are discoursing of Tres, I will adde somewhat as concerning another kind of wood which is their most precious merchandise: This is that renowned wood called *Aquila* and *Calamba*, which are the same in regard of the wood, yet much different in the reckoning made of them, as also in their vertue and efficacie. There is good store of these tres, especially on the mountaines of the *Kemois*, which are very great and very high. If this wood be cut from a young trunke or stocke, then they call it *Aquila*; whereof there is such plenty, that euery one may take as much as he will: But when this wood is taken from an old tre, this is the *Calamba*, which were exceeding hard to be gotten,

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if Nature had not holpen in that behalfe, placing these tres at the top of the highest steepe, and craggie mountaines, where they may quietly grow without any wrong or violence done them. There are falling from them from time to time, some branches which breake of themselues from the body of the tre; either by becomming blasted and withered, or by extremity of old age, which are found to be rotten and worme-eaten. This is the high-prised and renowned *Calamba*, which farre surpasseth the common *Aquila*, in efficacie and sweetnes of scent. Euery one may sell of the *Aquila* at his pleasure; but the traffique of the *Calamba* is reserued to the King alone, for the excellent odour and soueraigne vertue thereof. And certainly in those places where it is gathered, it is so sweet, and so odoriferous, that prouing certaine pieces of it, which had been giuen me, I buried them more than fiue foot vnder ground; yet notwithstanding they betrayed themselues by their sweet smell. This *Calamba* where it is gathered, is valued at fiue Ducats the pound; yet at the Port of *Cochin-China* it yeeldeth more: . . . But if one meet with a piece of such greatnes that a man may lay his head on it, as on a pillow; the *Iaponeses* will giue three or four hundred Ducats the pound for it: because they find by experiment (as they say) that it is better for health, to haue some hard thing vnder one's head when he sleepeth, then a soft pillow of feathers: which because they hold to be vnwholsome, they vse ordinarily a piece of wood for a Boulster to rest their head on; which euery one according to his ability, will haue as costly as he can get. And if it bee made of *Calamba*, they account it a pillow for a Prince. Now the *Aquila*, how soeuet [*sic*] it be of less estimation and value then the *Calamba*; yet it is of such account and worth, that one Ships lading of *Aquila* is sufficient to inrich a Merchant all his life. And the best recompense that the King can giue to a Captaine of *Malacca*, is, to trade and traffique with this *Aquila*: by reason that the *Brachmans* and *Banians* of *India*, being accustomed to burne the bodies of the dead with this odoriferous wood, will quickly dispatch and rid him of an infinite quantity thereof.

(*To be concluded*).

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THE CULT OF MILITARY HEROES IN CHINA

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

WRITERS on Chinese religion have made us familiar with the name of a divinity whom they describe as "the God of War." If this term implies a belief in the existence of a being similar in functions, characteristics or divine attributes to Ares or Mars, it is scarcely accurate to say that the Chinese pantheon contains any such personage. Nevertheless there is certainly a long-established cult of famous warriors; and as these persons have had quasi-divine honours posthumously conferred upon them by imperial edicts, and have become the objects of a popular reverence which can hardly be described as other than religious, it is not surprising that European students have come to regard the title of "gods" as the only one which can be appropriately applied to the objects of this cult. In the interests of strict accuracy, however, I have thought it advisable to exclude the term "war-gods" from the title of this paper.

Yet though China possesses no God of War, correctly so styled, it would be erroneous to deduce from this that the religious aspects of war have been overlooked or minimised by the Chinese people. The fact is that in China, as elsewhere, war has usually kept itself in close touch with religious beliefs and practices. We read in the *Tso Chuan* (左傳) that "the great affairs of a State are Sacrifice and War" (國之大事在記與戎); and the latter unaccompanied by the former was a thing unheard of.

A Chinese writer has recently remarked that from the earliest historic times up to the date of the Boxers (and he need not have drawn the line there) his countrymen have never ceased to regard supernatural agencies as constituting an essential element

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in the national military equipment.* What he means is that in China (as in Europe) the national cause in time of war is assumed to be the cause of justice and righteousness and must therefore attract the benevolent interest of the divine Powers, who, if properly invoked, will extend their protection to the national arms and help in the annihilation of a wicked and sacrilegious foe. Many centuries before the Christian era, Chinese statesmen, who frequently proved themselves shrewd psychologists, discovered that an army which believes itself to be under the special protection of superhuman powers, or to be acting as God's instruments in the destruction of evil, will be much more likely to be victorious, other things being equal, than an army which has doubts concerning the cause for which it is fighting or feels no assurance that the spirits or gods are on its side. "God is with you : set your heart at rest" were the words which rang in the ears of the duke of Chou and his army during the great struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.† "Heaven has sent calamity on the State of Hou" declared the ruler of a rival State ; "it must be that the Spirits were not pleased with its lord, and made use of me, unworthy as I am, to punish him." In the following extract from one of the Odes, dating from the ninth century B.C. a prince expresses his belief that God has condemned his enemy :—

"Shall not those of whom Almighty God does not approve,
Surely as water flows down from a spring,
Sink down together to ruin ?"

Yet experience has taught him that God helps those who help themselves, for he adds—

"Have in good order your chariots and horses,
Your bows and arrows, your weapons of war,
So as to be prepared for warlike action." ‡

In the *Classic of History* (書經) it is announced that "God surveyed [the people of Miao] and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their cruel punishments"; so the king made them "feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and finally extinguished the people of[Miao], so that they

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* See article by 易白沙 in 新青年, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 17. Cf. the *Tso Chuan :* "Virtuous goodness, punishments, *religion*, righteousness, propriety and good faith, all are the appliances of war." (Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. V, p. 395.)

† Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, Pt. ii, p. 436.

‡ Trans. by H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals* (London, 1915), p. 75.

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should not continue to future generations." * An army about to engage the enemy is addressed thus: "You are acting in accordance with the clear will of Heaven, and in obedience to your ruler's commands. It is for you, in this engagement, to vindicate the supremacy of virtue and righteousness." † In one of the Odes it is declared that God spoke to King Wên, exhorting him to fight. "Get ready your scaling ladders and your storeyed towers to attack the walls of Ch'ung." And before he began to fight, the king "sacrificed to God and to the heroes of old, thus seeking to induce submission." ‡ The overthrow of every reigning house has been accompanied by repeated announcements on the part of its enemies and supplanters that the fallen dynasty had, by its evil courses, brought upon itself the righteous wrath of God and had "exhausted the mandate of Heaven." Prince Wu, in 1123 B.C., makes a public announcement to the effect that king Shou "despises the 'five virtues' and abandons himself to reckless idleness and wild irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven and aroused the wrath of the people. He neglects to offer the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. He has ceased to present sacrifices in the temple of ancestors. God will not prosper him, but by His curse will overwhelm him in ruin. You will now help me to inflict upon him the punishment determined by Heaven." § On behalf of the sovereigns of the victorious Chou dynasty it is announced that they, on account of their exceptional virtues, "were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them 'Cut off Yin' [the royal house supplanted by the Chou.] They proceeded to perform it, and announced the correcting work to God." ¶ These examples take us back to the dawn of authentic Chinese history; but similar declarations have been made by all the later founders of dynasties, and even by unsuccessful rebels like the leader of the T'ai-p'ings, who, calling himself a Christian, was only following innumerable Chinese precedents when he sought to enflame the courage of his armies by teaching them that they were the instruments by which a justly incensed God intended to chastise and dethrone the Manchu "tyrants."

It is not surprising, then, that among the most ancient ceremonial rites mentioned in Chinese classical literature are those

* Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii. pp. 592-3.

† *Op. cit.* Vol V, Pt. ii, p 799

‡ See Giles, *op. cit.* p. 31.

§ Quoted by Dr. J. Ross, *The Original Religion of China*, p. 73. Cf. Legge, *op cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, pp. 281-288.

¶ Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 458.

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which were carried out during warfare by rulers of States and leaders of armies with the direct object of invoking the aid of the unseen Powers and impressing the troops with the belief that those Powers would protect and help them in the hour of battle. The two most solemn ceremonies in ancient China connected with war were known as the *Lei* (類) and the *Ma* (禡) sacrifices. Very few details regarding them have come down to us, and we cannot always be sure that the records we possess are altogether worthy of trust. It is clear, however, that the *Lei* was a sacrifice to God (*T'ien* 天 or *Shang-Ti* 上帝) and that it was offered on many solemn state occasions. The ceremony could be performed only by the sovereign himself, because it was the "Son of Heaven" alone who had the prerogative of offering sacrifices to Heaven.* It was not exclusively associated with war, but it was always offered when an army was about to be set in motion and seems to have been regarded as pre-eminently a military sacrifice.† The emperor Shun is said to have performed it in 2283 B.C., and how much older it was we have no means of knowing ; though in the earliest references we possess it seems to be taken for granted that the ceremony was an old one or "customary."‡ At a much later date we are told that king Wu, addressing his allies and followers before making his great attack on the last ruler of the degenerate Shang dynasty, informed them that Heaven had decreed the doom of that dynasty, and that he had therefore offered the *Lei* sacrifice before embarking on the great enterprise whereby the will of Heaven was to be carried out.§ He offered the same sacrifice again when the victory had been won. The essential features of the *Lei* sacrifice seem to have survived up to the abdication of the Manchu dynasty in the great ceremony of the imperial worship of God at the Altar of Heaven.¶

The other great religious ceremony connected with warfare in ancient China—the *Ma*—was offered on the field of battle or at the army's halting places. Some authorities would lead us to suppose that it was practically identical with the *Lei*—the only

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* Cf. the *Li Chi*, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 116, 225; Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.)

† Cf. *S.B.E.* Vol. 27, p. 218.

‡ Hence Legge justifiably translates *Lei yü Shang Ti* (類于上帝) by the words 'he sacrificed specially, *but with the ordinary forms*, to God.' *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. i, pp. 33-4. *cf.* J. Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 23-4, 40-1, 192-4.

§ J. Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 287; J. Ross, *op. cit.* p. 72.

¶ Cf. Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. i, p. 34; J. Ross, *op. cit.* p. 295f. This ceremony has been performed once since the 1911 Revolution, namely, by President Yüan Shih-k'ai on December 23rd, 1915.

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difference being that the *Lei* was offered at the capital, or before the army set out, the *Ma* while the army was on the march, or about to engage the enemy.* According to this theory the sacrifice was offered to God (天) or the Heavenly Spirits (天神). Yet it seems probable that some other deity or deities were also invoked or worshipped in this ceremony. Dr. Ross rashly assumes that *Ma* was the name of the deity so invoked, and that he was none other than "the god of war." † Dr. Ross gives no explanation of his view, nor does he reinforce it by a reference to any authority. Probably he merely followed and sought to improve upon Dr. Legge, who translates the line *shih lei shih ma* (是類是禡) in one of the poems of the *Shih Ching* (詩經) by the words "He sacrificed to God and to the Father of War." ‡ Even Legge's translation is open to question. All the Chinese text says is that the *Lei* and *Ma* ceremonies were held on a specified occasion. *Lei* is certainly not a god's name or designation, and there is no reason to suppose that *Ma* is such. As a matter of fact Dr. Legge was only following an illustrious Chinese commentator of the Sung dynasty (Chu Hsi) when he assumed that the *Ma* sacrifice was offered to the "Father of War." He would have followed his authority still more closely if he had said "the Ancestral Patriarchs of the Military Art." Chu Hsi thought that the divinities whom the sacrifice was intended to propitiate were the spirits of Huang Ti (黃帝) and Ch'ih Yu (蚩尤), regarded as the joint originators of armed strife, before whose time warfare was unknown. Huang Ti (the "Yellow Emperor") was the ruler whose reign is supposed to have begun in 2698 B.C. and who is sometimes looked upon as the real founder of the Chinese monarchy.§ According to the legend, Ch'ih Yu (蚩尤) was a truculent rebel who tried to overthrow Huang Ti by force of arms. It is said that a great battle between the rivals was fought at the hill of Ch'o-lu (涿鹿), in the present province of Chihli. Ch'ih Yu, who was something of a magician, tried to throw his enemy into confusion by creating a great mist: perhaps the earliest recorded example of a smoke-screen. Huang Ti, not to be outdone in magic, produced a "south-pointing" instrument which enabled his army to find its way through the mist, and this resulted in the utter defeat of the rebel army and the death of Ch'ih Yu.¶ In the

*于丙曰類于野曰禡.

† Op. cit. p. 198.

‡ Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 455f.

§ Cf. *S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 204 footnote 2.

¶ A better-known legend ascribes the invention of the compass to Chou Kung, in the 12th cent. B.C.

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Shu Ching there is a passage which may have been the literary source of the tradition that Ch'ih Yu was the "Father of Strife." * In this passage, the following words are put into the mouth of King Mu (tenth century B.C.):—"It has been handed down from old times that Ch'ih Yu was the first to create disorder in the realm. His example was followed by many others, so that robbery and murder, owl-like treasons and knaveries, usurpations and snatchings, deceits and oppression, became universal." Dr. Legge, in a note on the passage from which I have translated these words, remarks that Ch'ih Yu "to whom the bad eminence of being the first rebel is here assigned, can hardly be considered a historical personage. The two characters of the name may be translated — 'The Stupid and Extraordinary.' " † Huang Ti himself received quasi-divine honours at a very early date. The Book of Rites (*Li Chi*) tells us that according to the law of sacrifices the emperor Shun (23rd century B.C.) gave the place of honour to Huang Ti at "the great Associate Sacrifice"; and the Hsia dynasty (23rd to 18th cent. B.C.) followed this example.‡ We shall see from a strange story dating from 1014 A.D. not only that separate temples to Huang Ti existed at that time (as indeed they do to-day) but that he and Ch'ih Yu were supposed to have carried their mutual enmity from this world into the next, and were still deadly foes thirty-seven centuries after their earth-lives had ceased. It is therefore difficult to take Chu Hsi's suggestion seriously. Even if a real or mythical Ch'ih Yu had become the object of a superstitious cult, it is very unlikely that anyone would have thought of insulting the revered memory of Huang Ti by making them joint recipients of a solemn sacrifice.

Another version of the legend says that Ch'ih Yu was not the name of a single rebel but the designation of the San-Miao (三苗) tribes or the "Nine Li" (九黎) mentioned in the Historical Classic.§ There is also an interesting story which tells us that Ch'ih Yu was the name given to eighty-one brothers who had the bodies of beasts but human voices, heads of copper and iron foreheads — all of which seems to be a fanciful way of saying that they were fierce fighters and wore armour. The legend goes on to say that they were in the habit of eating sand, which perhaps means that

* The *Shu Ching* can only be used with caution, as it is in part a comparatively late compilation. See E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris 1895), Vol. I, pp. cxiii-cxxxvi.

† Legge, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, Pt. ii, 590 *Cf.* p. 714, under the 142nd Radical See also *S.B.E.*, Vol III, pp. 392-3.

‡ *S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 201.

§ Legge, *loc. cit.*

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by their skill in cookery, or their ability to make a little go a long way, their commissariat was remarkably efficient. They are also, credited with having manufactured various kinds of lethal weapons — swords, lances and great bows. On the whole, the legend, if based on fact, suggests that the Ch'ih Yu, if not more civilized than their opponents, were in some respects more advanced. Their final defeat, and the fact that their version of the struggle and its causes has not been handed down, are sufficient to explain their evil reputation. They are said to have terrorised the empire and to have committed outrages innumerable, until at last the "Yellow Emperor" came to the rescue of the stricken people. Having failed to overcome the Ch'ih Yu by demonstrating the beauty of goodness and justice, he appealed to God, who sent him, by the hands of a mysterious female, a book containing an exposition of the art of war. Proceeding against the Ch'ih Yu in accordance with the rules contained in this divine book, he succeeded at last in overthrowing and destroying them.*

It is easy to see that if legends of this kind were widely current, Ch'ih Yu (whether one or many) and the triumphant emperor Huang Ti might well have come to be regarded as the "Fathers of War"; but the theory that they were the joint objects of the cult connected with the *Ma* sacrifice is a mere conjecture which has no real evidence to support it, and, as already pointed out, is inherently improbable. There is just as much (or as little) reason for supposing that the sacrifice was offered to one of the *Pa Shên* (八神)—eight minor spirits who were worshipped during the Ch'in and early Han periods.† One of these spirits was named *Ping Chu* (兵主)—"Lord of Military Weapons"—a divinity who certainly never attained a position entitling him to be styled God or Father of War. Not much importance should be attached to petty divinities of this kind, nor to the custom (maintained under the Manchu emperors) whereby one of the largest cannons of a victorious army was draped with red cloth and hailed as a spiritual being under the title of "Great General of the Red Robe" (紅衣大將軍).

Perhaps the most probable view with regard to the *Ma* sacrifice is that it was offered to *T'ien* or *Shang Ti* but that certain

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* This legend is quoted by E. Chavannes from the 龍魚河圖, in his *Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris, 1895), Vol. I, p. 27. Chavannes adds—"On voit dans cette légende que le premier écrit sur l'art de la guerre passe pour avoir été communiqué d'une manière surnaturelle à Hoang-ti."

† See the section on sacrificial ceremonies in the 前漢書 (in the Dynastic Histories). The *Pa Shên* are referred to in a poem by the philosopher Yang Hsiung (揚雄) (B.C. 53—A.D. 18).

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minor divinities were also invoked or associated with that high deity—namely, the local tutelary powers, who might be expected to object to the intrusion of armed forces into their private spheres of activity or who might feel outraged by the shedding of blood on soil that was under their special protection.

Although, as already remarked, it is not strictly correct to say, with some Western writers, that the Chinese pantheon contains a Mars, there are several famous warriors who, having shown themselves to be stout fighters and unselfish patriots during their earthly lives, have been deemed worthy of having their names and "spirit-tablets" enshrined in a kind of national Valhalla or "Temple of Military Heroes," just as the names and tablets of great sages and philosophers and other benefactors of the race have been enshrined in the "Hall of Worthies" or in the "Temple of Confucius." It is the most celebrated of these national heroes who has been so often described as the "Chinese Mars" or the "God of War." *

Those who suppose that the Chinese have never been a martial people and have never prized the military virtues, would perhaps modify their views if they would make a study of such ancient books as the *Tso Chuan*, with its fascinating narratives of chivalrous warfare, and some of the oldest Chinese poetry. We should have to go very far back if we wished to find the earliest traces of something like a religious attitude towards the glorious dead. This task cannot be undertaken here; but a few lines may be quoted from a poem by the famous Ch'ü Yüan) (屈原) (4th cent. B.C.) who closes his description of a great battle with these stirring words:—

"As evening fell, our ardour grew fiercer;
Our best men were all killed; their bodies lay on the plain.
They came out but did not go in, they went but did not return;
The road home from the battle-field was too long.
There they lay with their great swords, and grasping their bows;. . .
And now that their bodies are dead, their divine spirits
Shall become leaders in the army of disembodied ghosts." †

* Cf. Du Bose, *The Dragon, Image and Demon*, p. 128; W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China*, p. 288; Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, Vol. VI, p. 59.

† The translation is by Dr. H. A. Giles, *op. cit.* p. 110.

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But though dead heroes have always been honoured, and the custom of "canonising" those who deserved well of their country either in peace or war is a very ancient one,* it was not till China had fallen into a state of military decadence that a distinct cult of great soldiers began to take a conspicuous place in the religious life of the Chinese people. The hero who was singled out for special honours had been dead about eight hundred years when the Sung emperors set him up as the central figure in a national cult that has lasted to this day. This hero was Kuan Yü (關羽), a native of the village of Ch'ang-p'ing in Hsieh-chou † (Shansi province), who was born in 162 and died in 219 A.D. He lived during the time of disunion and strife that is commonly known as the period of the Three Kingdoms, and he is regarded as the most romantic figure in one of the most romantic epochs of Chinese history. Of abnormal size and strength, he distinguished himself above all his contemporaries by his prowess and courage and by his chivalrous sense of honour. The influence of the drama, coupled with that of a great novel (the *San Kuo Chih Yen I*) both full of fantastic details which can have had little or no foundation in fact—have raised him to a pitch of popularity which is really independent of his position in the official roll of divinities or saints and would hardly be affected by the total withdrawal of official recognition. His surname is unknown ; for *Kuan* was merely adopted by him in order to conceal his identity during his flight from his native place after he had entered upon his career of glory by slaying a tyrannical magistrate. Later on he accidentally made the acquaintance of two other celebrated characters of the period—Liu Pei (劉備) and Chang Fei (張飛). The three became devoted and lifelong friends and entered into a relationship of sworn brotherhood by taking the famous Oath of the Peach-Orchard. The leader of the three was Liu Pei, who was or declared himself to be a descendant of the founder of the Han dynasty and eventually carved his way to the throne of one of the Three Kingdoms—that of Shu (蜀)—largely through the devotion and generalship of Kuan Yü. After a brilliant career which was not too uniformly successful to be monotonous, Kuan Yü was captured by the forces of Sun Ch'üan (孫權) and executed.‡

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* *Cf. S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 207 f.

† 解州常平村.

‡ For accounts of Kuan Yü's life, see H.A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Nos. 1009 and 1803; and H. Doré, *op cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 54 f.

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It remains to follow the course of his elevation to quasi-divine rank. Ten years or (according to another authority) forty-one years after his death he was given the posthumous title of *Chuang Mu Hou* (壯繆侯)—"Marquis of Martial Dignity." For several centuries no further official notice was taken of him, though his fame among the people seems to have grown with the passing years. The Sung dynasty ascended the throne in 960, and about half a century later the emperor Chên Tsung (眞宗) caused a temple to be erected to his memory outside the West Gate of the capital of his native district. In 1096 the emperor Chê Tsung (哲宗) gave him the title of *Hsien Lieh Wang* (顯烈王)—"Illustrious Martial Prince." In 1101 he received from the emperor Hui Tsung (徽宗) the title of *Chung Hui Kung* (忠惠公)—"Loyal and Gracious Duke." In 1108 the same emperor conferred the additional title (武安王)—"Prince of War and Peace,"* to which, fifteen years later, the words *I Yung* (義勇)—"Righteous and Courageous"—were prefixed. It is to be noted that the assiduity with which the emperor Hui Tsung promoted the cult of Kuan Yü did not bring him the military successes which he perhaps anticipated; for it was during his reign that the Golden Tatars carried their conquering arms so far into Chinese territory that they became the rulers of the greater part of the northern provinces. However, his successors of the Southern Sung dynasty, with their capital at Hangchow, continued to shower honours on the long-dead hero. In 1129 the emperor Kao Tsung (高宗) declared him to be *Chuang Mu I Yung Wang* (壯繆義勇王)—"Prince of Martial Dignity, Righteousness and Courage." To this the emperor Hsiao Tsung (孝宗), in 1187, added the title of *Ying Chi Wang* (英濟王)—"Heroic and Helpful Prince."

No further honours were conferred on Kuan Yü in the Sung period, which closed in 1279, but during the Yüan (Mongol) period most of his titles were confirmed and that of *Hsien Ling* (顯靈)—"Illustrious and Spiritual"—added. This was in 1329. The Ming dynasty ascended the throne in 1368, and the first ruler of that house, in the first year of his reign, showed his respect for Kuan Yü by confirming his former titles and adding *Han-Shou T'ing-hou* (漢壽亭侯)—"Marquis of Han-shou."† In

* A more correct translation might be "Prince of Peace-by-War" or "Prince of War-won Peace."

† The occasional omission of *Han* from this particular title has been explained as due to a mistaken assumption that *Han* was intended for the dynastic name, and to ignorance of the fact that *Han-Shou* went together and signified the name of a district. *T'ing-hou* was one of the terms (not often met with) denoting a *territorial* marquisate.

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1387, under the same emperor, a temple to Kuan Yü was built at the capital and periodical sacrifices provided for. In 1404 a temple was established at the new capital (Peking) and provision made for sacrifices on the first day of each year and at the winter solstice. In 1531 sacrifices were directed to be offered on the 13th of the 5th month, which is one of the disputed dates of his birthday.* It was also decreed that State events of importance should in future be formally reported to the spirit of the marquis in his temple, so that he might not be left in ignorance of his country's fortunes.

Early in 1591 an imperial decree ordained that in view of the miraculous powers manifested by the hero, he should receive additional honours, that his image should be adorned with a state robe and cap, and that an imperial autograph scroll inscribed *Hsien Yu* (顯佑)—"Glorious Protector"—should be hung in his temple. This was in consequence of a miraculous occurrence of the previous summer. It appears that incessant rains had caused serious floods that threatened the safety of a large district. Suddenly a yellow cloud was seen above Kuan Yü's temple and remained stationary for a long time before it began to disperse. Strange lights were also seen in front of the temple. They were brilliant enough to be seen three miles off, yet they were not due to any human agency and their source remained undiscovered. Immediately after this manifestation the rains ceased and the countryside was saved from ruin. A detailed account of these occurrences was duly submitted to the throne, and resulted in a considerable augmentation of the fame of Kuan Yü, who, in the official documents dealing with the affair, was described by the title which he had been granted in 1108—"Prince of War and Peace."

There seems to be some doubt as to the exact date upon which Kuan Yü first acquired the high-sounding title of *Ti* (帝)—a term which is usually translated "god" but for which the word "sovereign" is, in this and many similar cases, a more fitting equivalent. According to one authority, this promotion occurred as early as 1531, but this is probably erroneous. The generally accepted date is 1594, when the emperor Shên Tsung (神宗)† bestowed the title of *Hsieh-T'ien Hu-Kuo Chung-I Ta Ti* (協天護國忠義大帝)—"In-harmony-with-Heaven Protector-of-the-

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* The other date often given is the 24th of the sixth month. Some say that the 13th of the 5th month was the date of the birthday of his son (or adopted son) Kuan P'ing (關平).

† Better known to Europeans by the reign-title *Wan Li* (萬曆).

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State Loyal-and-Righteous Great Sovereign." The same monarch confirmed the title of *Ti* in a special patent or "golden warrant" (金牌) issued in 1614. In that warrant Kuan Yü was also styled "Devil-queller of the Three Worlds" (三界伏魔)and a "heavenly Spirit of far-reaching majesty" (神威遠震天尊). The presentation of the "golden warrant" was accompanied by an embroidered robe and state-cap which were deposited in the Kuan Yü temple still standing at the *Ch'ien-mên* (前門)—one of the city-gates of Peking. For some obscure reason, not much notice seems to have been taken at first, of this addition to Kuan Yü's honours, for he continued to be designated by his old title of "Marquis." This was brought to the notice of the emperor Hsi Tsung* (T'ien-ch'i), who in 1624 issued an edict declaring that the commands of his late majesty Shên Tsung (Wan-Li) were to be carried out, and confirming the titles, including that of *Ti*, conferred upon Kuan Yü by that monarch. From that time to the present, the "god of war" has been generally known as Kuan Ti.

Throughout the Manchu period Kuan Ti continued to be treated with great respect. During the first year of the new dynastic epoch (1644) it was decreed that sacrifices to Kuan Ti were to take place on the 13th day of the fifth month (assumed to be his birthday) and an officer of the Court of Sacrificial Worship (the 太常寺) was deputed to conduct the ceremony. In 1652 an imperial patent conferred upon him the title of 忠義神武關聖大帝—"Loyal and Righteous Spiritual and Martial Holy Emperor Kuan." In 1725, which was the third year of the reign of Yung Chêng (雍正), the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Kuan Ti were raised to the rank of duke, and the title 靈佑 ("Spiritual Protection") was added to the long list of honorific designations already conferred upon Kuan Ti himself. The sacrificial ceremonies in Spring and Autumn and on his birthday were confirmed, and an entry to that effect was made in the official records of the Board of Rites.†. It was also decreed that the temple of Kuan Ti outside the Ti-An Gate (地安門) within the city of Peking should be re-roofed with imperial yellow tiles. In 1727 a general restoration of the temple was undertaken and the emperor presented an autograph tablet bearing the inscription *Chung Kuan T'ien Jén* (忠貫天人) —"Loyalty establishing a link between God and Man."

Kuan Ti has been styled the patron-saint of the Manchu dynasty, and indeed there are legends which, if they could be con-

* 熹宗.

† Board of Rites (禮部) Rule No. 125.

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verted into history, might be held to justify his claim to that position up to and perhaps beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. According to one of these stories, Kuan Ti issued from one of his temples in Peking during an attack which was being made on the Forbidden City by a band of rebels in 1813, and intervened so vigorously on behalf of the imperial house that the rebels were soon put to flight. It is admitted that there was a violent thunderstorm at the same time, and we may suppose that there were people present who were not unwilling to believe that the voice of the warrior-saint was heard in the rolling of the thunder. In gratitude for this timely succour, the emperor (Chia-ch'ing) * ordered the heir-apparent to proceed in person to the Kuan Ti temple and offer a special sacrifice. Another miracle is attributed to Kuan Ti in the following year (1814) during an assault by the imperialists on the city of Hua (華) in Honan, the headquarters of a rebel army. In this case, too, the defeat of the rebels was believed to be due to the personal intervention of the "war-god." † Again in the middle of the last century he is said to have aided the imperial troops against the T'ai-p'ing rebels, and, on one memorable occasion in 1856, to have turned what would have been defeat into glorious victory.

Every emperor of the Manchu dynasty, from Shun-chih ‡ (whose reign is dated for dynastic purposes from 1644) to Kuang-hsü § (who died in 1908), showed favour to the cult of Kuan Ti or conferred fresh honours upon him. From Chia-ch'ing (1803) he received the appellation of "Humane and Brave" (仁勇), and from Tao-kuang ‖ (1828) that of "Manifest Majesty" (威顯). In the short Hsien-fêng ♯ reign (1851-1861) he was granted new titles on no fewer than four occasions (1852, 1853, 1856 and 1857), presumably because the empire was at the time harassed by internal and external foes (it was the period of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion and the "Arrow" war) and Kuan Ti's support was badly needed to prop the insecure fortunes of the reigning house. The four titles conferred on him in this reign were "Protector of the State" (護國), "Guardian of the People" (保民), "Spiritual and

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* 仁宗睿(嘉慶).

† For accounts of these "miracles," see De Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* (Amsterdam, 1903), pp. 423, 428, 456.

‡ 世祖章(順治).

§ 德宗(光緒).

‖ 宣宗成(道光).

♯ 咸豐.

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Sincere" (精誠), and "Tranquil and Peaceful" (安靖). The last of these titles, however true it may conceivably have been of the spiritual condition of Kuan Ti himself, was very far from being a true description of the state of the realm of which he was regarded as a champion and guardian. It was in the same year (1857) that Kuan Ti's immediate ancestors, who as we have seen had been raised to ducal rank in 1725, were elevated to the still more exalted status of prince. It must have been disconcerting to the supporters of the Kuan Ti cult when only three years after these high honours had been conferred upon Kuan Ti and his family, the Anglo-French armies entered Peking, looted and destroyed the neighbouring Summer Palace, and forced the emperor to save himself by flight. The imperial family, however, bore no grudge against Kuan Ti for failing them in their hour of need. Ten years later, the emperor T'ung-chih* awarded him the new title of "Winged Helper" (翊贊), in which one is almost tempted to trace a touch of gentle irony. The last honour conferred upon Kuan Ti by the Manchu dynasty consisted of the title *Hsüan Tê* (宣德)—"Diffuser of Virtue," which was bestowed in the name of the late emperor Kuang-hsü. This was in 1879. Events subsequent to that date tend to show that the god had ungratefully withdrawn his support from the dynasty to which he and his ancestors were indebted for so many honours. No marvellous interventions on behalf of the Manchu house are recorded to have taken place either in 1900, the year of the Boxer outbreak, or in 1911, the year of the Revolution. Indeed the "Loyal and Righteous Great Emperor Kuan," who judging from his proudest title might have been expected to take some interest in the preservation of the monarchic principle, seems to have done nothing to avert a catastrophe which not merely destroyed a dynasty but overthrew the oldest imperial throne in the world. Nevertheless, even the humiliations of the last ten years have not led the dethroned dynasty to abandon the cult of Kuan Ti or to degrade him from his proud position. There is a private chapel dedicated to him within the precincts of the so-called Coal Hill,† formerly part of the imperial Forbidden City in Peking. On stated occasions the young ex-emperor still deputes one of the imperial princes to *nien hsiang* (拈香)—that is, perform religious rites—before the image of Kuan Ti in this chapel. As recently as the 11th of the 11th moon (December

*穆宗毅(同治).

† Properly called *Ching Shan* (景山)—"Prospect Hill."

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20th, 1920),* the Court Circular—the abridged successor of the Peking Gazette of former days—announced that his majesty had ordered Prince P'u Lun† to *nien hsiang* at this imperial Kuan Ti chapel on the 13th of that month ; and the ceremony was duly carried out.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the part played by Kuan Ti in myth and legend. We have seen that he is credited with several miraculous interventions on behalf of the Manchu dynasty during the nineteenth century ; but he began to distinguish himself as a wonder-worker at a much earlier date. Even in his life-time he could work miracles, for we read how he struck a dry rock with his famous sword "Blue Dragon," and how he slaked his thirst, and that of his wonderful horse "Red Hare," at the refreshing waters that immediately gushed forth. After his death it was soon discovered that he had lost neither his interest in fighting nor his personal prowess, for on numerous occasions he is said to have come to the rescue of outnumbered armies and beleaguered garrisons, sometimes by appearing at the head of an irresistible force of demon (or angel) soldiers. Thus the alleged Mons incident has many a prototype in Chinese annals. Against the Japanese, of whom during his earthly life he had perhaps never heard, he proved himself a stout fighter ; and it was in direct consequence of his alleged success in helping to drive the islanders from the maritime provinces of Kiangsu and Chehkiang in the sixteenth century (especially in 1555-6) that temples were for the first time erected to him in parts of China where his cult had hitherto been unknown. It is also told of him that he would break the walls of a prison to release the loyal and righteous victims of judicial tyranny.

There is a strange story of how in 1014 the hereditary head of the Taoist fraternity, Chang the "Heavenly Master" (張天師), was summoned to Court to advise as to the best method of exorcising a noxious demon who turned out to be no other than the famous rebel of the 27th century B.C., the "Yellow Emperor's" enemy Ch'ih Yu. The demon lived in a pond beside which a temple to the "Yellow Emperor" had recently been erected, and it was the existence of this temple that had ruffled the temper of the demon and caused him to announce, in a vision, that he would not cease making himself a nuisance to the neighbourhood until the temple was pulled down. It was the emperor's natural reluctance to dishonour his imperial predecessor by destroying the temple at

* Within the Palace, the Old calendar is still in use.

† 倫貝子.

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the bidding of a demon-rebel that had induced him to consult the "Heavenly Master." Chang declared that the only thing to be done was to invoke the assistance of the spirit of some brave and loyal soldier of past time and entrust him with the task of repeating, in the spirit-world, the valorous work which had been so successfully accomplished on the material plane by the "Yellow Emperor." He therefore proceeded to call up the spirit of Kuan Yü, who in his majesty's presence at once promised to carry out the imperial commands. A few days afterwards a black cloud rose over the demon-haunted pond, and for a brief space of time there raged a violent thunderstorm. The people of the district were greatly alarmed, especially when they heard the clashing of arms in an aerial battle and the charging of invisible horses. In due time the storm passed away and the air cleared. The demon had been utterly vanquished and never gave any further trouble; and the grateful emperor ordered Kuan Ti's principal temple to be repaired and a special service of thanksgiving to be held in honour of the victorious hero.

Among the numerous spirits who revisit the glimpses of the moon at the behest of Chinese mediums and other spiritualistic adepts, Kuan Ti has long been one of the most prominent. Numerous stories are extant of how his warnings and predictions, transmitted through the Chinese planchette, or through entranced psychics, have been verified by subsequent events, and how his advice has been acted upon with happy results. On one occasion a medium, whose "spirit-control" was Kuan Ti, was consulted by a high official who was at his wits' end to know how to deal with a Japanese invasion. The unseen spirit of Kuan Ti proceeded to write a poem containing mysterious forebodings regarding the fate of the official himself: forebodings which were dismally verified by his subsequent execution. In like manner Kuan Ti is said to have foretold the capture of the capital (K'ai-fêng) by the Golden Tatars in 1126 and the ignominious end of the "Northern Sung" dynasty. A similar story relates to the last days of the Ming dynasty in 1643. Amid the dangers and difficulties of that disastrous period, the unhappy emperor Ch'ung-chêng*—like many people in our own day in more "advanced" countries—turned to soothsayers and psychics for encouragement and consolation. In doing so he must have forgotten an old warning preserved in the Confucian *Tso Chuan*: "When a State is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when

* 思宗 (崇禎).

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it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from spirits."* Anyhow, the utterances of the spirits only deepened the gloom of those tragic years. A medium whom he consulted invoked the spirit of Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓 a sorcerer of the 8th century A.D. and one of the Eight Immortals of Taoist legend)† who recommended the emperor to consult a more potent spirit than himself —namely "the Devil-Queller Kuan Ti." Accompanied by his prime minister, Chou Yen-ju (周延儒), the emperor paid a nocturnal visit to the (still-existing) temple of Kuan Ti at the Chêng-yang (Ch'ien-mên) gate of Peking, and called upon the resident soothsayer to summon the spirit of the great warrior. While his majesty was burning incense at the altar, Kuan Ti suddenly materialised himself and went down on his knees as though he were a minister of state being received in audience by his sovereign. The emperor saluted him in return and proceeded to question him about the national and dynastic prospects. "There is no hope," was the spirit's reply; "there are too many baneful influences at work." Here the prime minister broke in with a remark: "What baneful influences are you talking about?" he asked. The spirit smiled faintly and answered "You yourself are the worst of all." It was not long after this incident that Chou Yen-ju, who was a corrupt and incompetent official, was impeached for ten heinous misdeeds and sentenced to commit suicide. His removal came at too late an hour to be of any benefit to the monarch whom he had served so badly; for it was very soon after the minister's death that the last reigning sovereign of the Ming dynasty was driven by accumulating disasters to slay himself within the precincts of his own palace.

Some Western writers on China have commented on the strange fact that though the Chinese are credited with being a peace-loving people, one of the most popular divinities in their pantheon is the "god of war." It is certainly true that his temples are to be found almost everywhere. It has been truly remarked by a writer on Chinese village life that in villages which have any temples at all "the two which are most likely to be found, though all others be wanting, are those of the local god, and of the god of war."‡ What he and other writers have omitted to point out,

* Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. V, Pt. i. p. 120.

† See H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* No. 1461.

‡ A. H. Smith, *Village Life in China* (Edin. & London, 1900), p. 137. *cf.* J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (revised ed. London 1893), p. 116; and Du Bose, *op. cit.* p. 128-9.

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however, is the important fact that the popularity of Kuan Ti is not based solely or even chiefly on the fact that he is a war-god. In the course of centuries he has gathered unto himself many other attributes besides those of a loyal and valiant soldier, and it is the possession of these other attributes and functions that has attracted to him the devotion of multitudes of men and women who are far too peace-loving to be capable of deliberately promoting the worship of any god of war. We have documentary evidence that from 1187, if not earlier, Kuan Ti has been regarded as a weather-god, and has been prayed to as such in seasons of drought or excessive rain. The vast majority of the Chinese people are not soldiers but farmers, and it is not surprising that when Kuan Ti's reputation as a regulator of the rainfall came to be generally recognised, his cult quickly spread into country districts and so throughout the empire.

He has also taken his place among the numerous divinities who cure disease. There are many stories of how he has appeared at the bedsides of sufferers and laid a healing hand upon their bodies or given them "golden drugs" and other mysterious medicines which speedily brought them back to health. Further, Kuan Ti is often regarded as patron-saint of the so-called Village Temple, which is a focussing-point of Chinese life in agricultural districts.* The Village Temple, it should be explained, exists for social rather than religious purposes, for though a portion of the corporate funds is used to pay the expenses of an annual festival in honour of the divine patron, the religious significance of these festivals is now almost forgotten or ignored.

Another cause of Kuan Ti's great popularity is that he has been accepted as patron-saint of several trades and professions. This has led to his being regarded as the patron of money-making enterprises generally, and so he has gradually developed into a god of Wealth. When he assumes this role his image is usually shown with a casket of treasure on the floor between his feet.† More strangely still, he has been called upon to act as the invisible President of the well-known "Heaven and Earth Association" (天地會) or Triad Society. "All lodges" says an authority on this much-dreaded secret society "have shrines to Kuan Ti, the god of war, whom the members seem to regard as their tutelar deity."‡

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* See *Village and Town Life in China* by Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao (London 1915), pp. 32f.

† H. Doré, *op. cit.* tome VI, p. 62.

‡ William Stanton, *The Triad Society* (Hongkong, 1900), p. 28.

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More becomingly, Kuan Ti is regarded as the powerful friend and patron of all who discharge their social and domestic duties in a satisfactory manner. It is, indeed, a Chinese theory that all loyal and high-principled people not only become active spiritual agencies when they die (自古忠烈之士沒而爲神) but that they are always the deadly enemies of those who fail to fulfil their duties to society and to their families (不孝之人神必誅之). Kuan Ti, therefore, is by no means the only divinity who stands forth as the champion of sound morals. His methods of inculcating good behaviour are at times somewhat drastic, for he has been known to strike dead an unfilial son who, after beating his father, ventured sacrilegiously to set foot within the temple-precincts. Two stories, dating from the sixteenth century, tell us of how Kuan Ti struck down certain wicked men who harboured murderous designs against their own mothers. Another instance of how Kuan Ti intervenes to safeguard the great principles of domestic virtue and propriety as understood by Chinese moralists is perhaps worth quoting. A man named Li Shêng (李生) and his wife Chin Shih (金氏) lived (as is usual in China) in his mother's house. His mother was afflicted with blindness; but Chin Shih, instead of treating her with the deference and consideration that were her due, was in the habit of neglecting and insulting the blind lady whenever she could do so without the knowledge of her husband. One day she put some filth into her mother-in-law's food. Knowing from the smell that the food was unfit to eat, the elder lady refused to touch it. The incident was reported to Li Shêng; fearing his righteous anger, his wife fled from her home and took refuge in the neighbouring Kuan Ti temple. After a couple of days spent in vainly searching for her, Li Shêng was told where his wife had gone. He went into the temple to look for her, but there was no one there. All he saw was a fierce-looking dog which crouched under the altar. Suddenly the dog was endowed with human speech and uttered these few words: "I did wrong. I gave my mother-in-law unclean food to eat, and now I have been turned into a dog." A few days afterwards the animal died. The narrator of the story adds a little comment of his own. "The spirits" he says "will destroy those who are disloyal and unfilial. Should not the sudden fate of Chin Shih fill us with awe?"

As Kuan Ti occupies a very prominent position among the divinities who enjoy State recognition, it would be surprising if no steps had been taken to associate his cult in some way with literary

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scholarship, which in Confucian China has always been the surest passport to fame. As a matter of fact, he has been enrolled as one of the minor gods of literature, in which capacity he ranks alongside of Wên-ch'ang (文昌), K'uei-hsing (魁星) and Chu Yi (朱衣).* Kuan Ti's claim to this dignified position seems to be based on nothing but the tradition that he was a devoted student of the "Spring and Autumn Annals" of Confucius and also of the great Commentary on that classic—the *Tso Chuan*. This is supposed to justify the belief that Kuan Ti was as devoted to letters as he was to arms, and as skilful with the pen as with the sword. There is a little four-lined poem entitled "On Kuan Ti reading the Unicorn Classic" by Wên Chêng-ming (文徵明), a noted artist, poet, calligraphist and essayist of the Ming dynasty.† Turned into rude English prose, the poem reads as follows:

> "He who is a fine scholar but lacks courage has no dignity; he who is a good soldier but no scholar is not a complete hero. Who is to be compared with Kuan Ti, who combined military genius with literary capacity, and would study at night without taking off his armour?" ‡

The inclusion of Kuan Ti among the literary divinities will perhaps seem less surprising when it is remembered that Confucius himself, pre-eminently the "literary sage," is (or was) supposed also to exercise the functions of a patron-saint of soldiers. Some writers have thought that under the old Chinese examination system it was the custom for new military graduates to pay a ceremonial visit to the temple of Kuan Ti, while new civil graduates visited the temple of Confucius. The fact is, however, that it was to Confucius that both civil and military graduates were expected to do homage. This was probably intended to emphasise the principles that the civil functions of the State took precedence of the military and that the national ideals were not warlike but peaceful. Kuan Ti was honoured not after but before the holding of the military examination. At such times, in some localities at

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* For accounts of these divinities, See H. Doré, *op. cit.* tome VI. pp. 29-53.

† The "Spring and Autumn annals" is called the "Unicorn classic" (麟經) because the character 麟 (usually translated "unicorn") happens to be the last in the book. Modern Japanese and Chinese scholars hold that the animal in question was a kind of giraffe. For Wên Chêng-ming, (1470-1559), see Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, No. 2302.

‡ By a concidence, I have just come across a somewhat similar sentiment in an article entitled "East and West," by Ramiro de Maetzu, in *The New Age* for August 5th, 1920. He says "it seems to me that the warrior who is not a philosopher is a brute and not a man, while the philosopher who is not a warrior is a ghost, and not a man either."

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least, the examining officials paid a formal visit to the Kuan Ti temple to make an announcement of the forthcoming examination, and then proceeded to the parade-ground and burned incense before "Kuan Ti's Standard." *

If Kuan Ti's reputation as a patron of literature seems based on a rather slender foundation, still slighter are his claims to be regarded as a good Buddhist. Nevertheless the Búddhists of China have had the daring to assign him a place in their temples among the *ka-lan* (伽藍), or tutelary guardians. In this capacity his functions are of a subordinate character, and he should not, in strictness, occupy a central position or be regarded as an object of worship. His duties are similar to those of the "Four Heavenly Kings" and Wei-t'o, who are excluded from the principal sanctuary but stand near the entrance to the temple to protect it from external dangers. Nevertheless, in many Buddhist temples in north China, Kuan Ti has been promoted to one of the central shrines and occupies a position which by rights should belong only to a Buddha or Bodhisattva. He has thus become an object of Buddhist popular worship, at least in certain districts of the north.† Kuan Ti himself was no Buddhist and did nothing whatever in his lifetime to promote the cause of Buddhism. This is not surprising, inasmuch as Buddhism in China was in its struggling infancy when Kuan Ti lived, and had not yet begun to exercise a powerful influence in Chinese religious life. The Buddhists themselves were evidently struck by the incongruity of admitting the stern warrior into their temples even in the subordinate (though highly honourable) position of a tutelary guardian; for they thought it necessary to devise some means whereby he might, so to speak, be baptised into the faith. Accordingly they formulated the ingenious theory that Kuan Ti, long after his death, was converted to Buddhism by a celebrated monk named Chih-i (智顗) or Chih-chê. This zealous Buddhist preacher and scholar died in 597 A.D., after having founded a large number of monasteries and having ordained (so it is said) over four thousand monks. He was also the founder of the T'ien-t'ai (天台) School of Buddhism, which has had great influence in both China and Japan. What credulous Buddhists are asked to believe is that the great Buddhist saint, seeking solitude and opportunity for quiet meditation,

* See *Pratique des Examens Militaires en Chine* (Variété Sinologiques No. 9) by Le P. Etienne Zi (Siu) S.J. (Shanghai, 1896) pp. 34, 55.

† There are several such temples in and near Peking. They have usually been founded by wealthy palace eunuchs.

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found his way to a certain mountain, and entered a deep forest which became his temporary hermitage. Here (like many Christian saints in similar circumstances) he was assailed by numerous terrifying demons, who tried their best, after the manner of demons, to destroy his serenity and interrupt his mystical meditations. In this attempt they completely failed. He merely regarded them with gentle pity, and asked what they thought they were doing in view of the fact that both life and death were unreal and contained nothing that should have the power to agitate the spirit. The baffled demons then disappeared, and were succeeded by a heroic-looking being who approached the saint with an air of humility. Introducing himself as Kuan Ti (who had died between three and four centuries before) he informed the monk that he had taken possession of this mountain long ago, and had made it his home. He had observed Chih-chê at his religious exercises and had resolved to put the strength and tranquillity of his soul to a severe test. He had therefore summoned a host of spirits—his companions on the mountain—to try by every means in their power to fill his mind with confusion and dismay. They had utterly failed, and Kuan Ti was so deeply impressed with the monk's fortitude and self-mastery that he now wished to become his religious disciple, and therefore begged Chih-chê to take pity on him and teach him the truths of Buddhism. "As for this mountain" he added "I abandon it to you so that it may always be a place of meditation for holy men like yourself ; and both I and my son will henceforth be true and zealous protectors of the Faith." The result of this appeal was that Chih-chê received Kuan Ti into Buddhism by causing him to take the Five Vows of a novice. The story concludes by describing how Kuan Ti once more summoned his demon-army and entrusted it with a very different task from that in which it had failed. In the course of a single day and night the demons constructed a Buddhist monastery of surpassing splendour close to the spot where their master had taken the vows of a true believer. Thus it is that China's great military hero has come to be regarded as the faithful protector of a religion of which he knew nothing, and as the adherent of a school of Buddhist thought which did not come into existence till more than three and a half centuries after his death.

References have already been made to the Kuan Ti temples which exist in all parts of China, but a few words may be added to explain the internal arrangements of these temples.* Many

* Cf. H. Doré *op. cit.* tome vi. pp. 62-66 ; see also *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 362-4.

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are in large and spacious courtyards and consist of several separate buildings, some of which are used for the storing of sacrificial vessels and other objects connected with the cult. The majority —especially those in the small towns and villages—are cramped and dingy. As a rule, a life-size richly-robed figure of Kuan Ti (of clay, bronze or wood) occupies the centre of the principal shrine. His aspect is intended to convey the idea of stern dignity combined with gracious benevolence, and in many cases the attempt to embody this idea is very successful. In a properly-equipped temple his image is not alone, though it is only he who sits on the central canopied throne. Along the side-walls, or in front of Kuan Ti and on his right and left, stand the images of those who are believed to have been his most trusted associates and comrades in war, and who are allowed the privilege of sharing in the sacrificial offerings. Their number is indeterminate; there may be only four, or there may be as many as a dozen. The persons most often represented are his "champion" Chou Ts'ang (周倉), noted for his very swarthy countenance; his adopted son Kuan P'ing (關平), who holds Kuan Ti's official seal; his own son Kuan Hsing (關興); an ex-brigand named Liao Hua (廖化), who became one of Kuan Ti's most devoted followers; Wang Fu (王甫), one of his principal officers; and Chao Lei (趙累), who might be described as the officer in charge of Kuan Ti's Army Service Corps. If no more than four subordinate figures are represented they are usually those of Chou Ts'ang, Kuan P'ing, Wang Fu and Chao Lei. Frequently there is also an image of a youth who stands beside a model of Kuan Ti's famous charger. Besides the usual incense-jars and other ceremonial articles, a large bow and a sheaf of arrows are set up on either side of Kuan Ti's image, representing the weapons used by him in life; also a spear which he is supposed to have wielded but which would defy the strength of any modern soldier. In Peking and its neighbourhood there are many Kuan Ti temples. The most popular is one to which reference has already been made, at the Chêng-yang city-gate. It is daily frequented by persons of both sexes whose main purpose is not so much to worship Kuan Ti as to invoke his blessing on their mundane enterprises and to *ch'ou ch'ien* (抽籤)—engage in divination by the drawing of lots. This temple was rebuilt in 1828. A small and dark temple in the western part of the city is of some interest on account of the fact that it contains *two* images of Kuan Ti and is hence known as the temple of the *Shuang** ("Double") Kuan Ti. One of the images is slightly

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larger than the other, but they are enshrined side by side. The date of the foundation of this temple is unknown ; it was rebuilt in 1325 and again in 1771. A temple of greater general interest is that which is known as the Eastern Red Temple * and stands about a mile to the north-west of the An Ting city-gate,† close to the lamasery known to Europeans as the "Yellow Temple." It has historical associations with Yü Ch'ien‡ (1398-1457), a high official of the Ming dynasty, who was executed in a barbarous manner for having failed to exert himself to rescue the emperor Ying Tsung§ when his majesty was captured by the Mongols in 1449. The temple was destroyed, apparently because Yü Ch'ien had made use of it ; but it was soon afterwards rebuilt and was again restored in 1655 by the emperor Shun-chih. Its last restoration took place as recently as 1903. The temple has to some extent succumbed to Buddhist influences, for behind the principal shrine in which Kuan Ti's image is enthroned there is a Buddhist chapel with the usual images of the Buddha and various Bodhisattvas. A special festival is held here on the 15th of the first month (lunar calendar) which synchronises with the important Lantern Festival. At night there is a brilliant fire-work display which attracts large crowds from the city, and is accompanied by much hilarity.

(To be concluded).

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*東紅廟.
†安定門.
‡于謙.
§英宗.

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TAOIST TALES—

A Rejoinder

BY

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

It was somewhat of a surprise to find in a review on the first volume of the *New China Review* appearing in the *Jr.N.C. Br.R.A.S.* for 1919 that I am credited with saying that the *Sou shén chi* 搜神記 is a Taoist book. If I had made such a statement without qualification, there would have been reason for the reviewer's critical remarks. My words (on p. 169) were: "One of the earliest collections of Taoist and other marvellous tales is that published under the title *Sou shén chi*." A glance at the particular work which I quoted in the article under review is sufficient to show that my statement is justified; for its first page contains biographical sketches of three famous Taoists copied almost character for character from that *locus classicus* of Taoist hero-tales, the *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳 of Liu Hsiang 劉向. Besides, the book is included in the Ming Supplement of the Taoist Canon (Wieger, No. 1454).

The several books attributed to Yü Pao 干寶 (*alias* Kan Pao 干寶) and passing under the title of *Sou shén chi* vary so widely that it is hardly accurate to describe them as "different editions"—a fact that perhaps I omitted to state sufficiently clearly, though reference was made to the notes on the subject by Wylie and De Groot. Nor was it mentioned in my brief remarks that there are at least two other works popularly called *Sou shén chi*, which probably have nothing to do with Yü Pao.

In many respects Yü Pao's book is so important—Prof. De Groot calls it unsurpassed as "a precious source of the knowledge

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of early Chinese animism and spirit-lore"— that perhaps the following notes may be found interesting:—

There are two versions in common circulation at the present day ; one in eight *chüan*, the other in twenty.

The former appears in several of the Collections of Reprints, e.g., *Han Wei ts'ung shu* 漢魏叢書 and *I yüan chün hua* 藝苑捃華. It is also published together and uniformly with a similar kind of book from the pen of Wu Chün 吳均, entitled *Hsü ch'i hsieh chi* 續齊諧記. In the first and the third of these the author's and editor's names are given as Kan Pao and Yang Kuang-lieh 楊光烈, and in the second as Yü Pao and Shên Ch'un-t'ao 沈春濤 respectively. The eight-chapter version, edited by Yang is published also separately.

The reprint included in the *Han Wei ts'ung shu* is followed with a bibliographical notice of the *Sou shên chi* which begins with the statement that the Annals of both the Sui 隋 and T'ang 唐 Dynasties gave the number of its *chüan* as thirty. Next an epitome of a passage from the Chin History 晉書, narrating the events that gave rise to the writing of the book, is quoted as follows : "Pao's father's slave-girl came back to life from the dead. Moreover, Pao's brother fell ill and breathed his last ; but animation returned to him, and then he described how he had witnessed in heaven and on earth the activities of spirits. In consequence Pao compiled a number of tales, ancient and modern, about the supernatural wonders of the spirits of heaven and earth, and about the metamorphoses of men and other things. The book he named 'A Record of Enquiry about Spirits' (*Sou shên chi*). It contained twenty *chüan*." The full passage, giving some interesting details omitted in the foregoing, is translated by Prof. De Groot in *Religious System of China*, IV, pp. 126, 127. According to Wylie (Notes, p. 192) the original *Sou shên chi* in thirty chapters was lost during the T'ang period. It was, however, restored by the method of compiling quotations preserved in other ancient books, to which was added some new matter in the style of the old. Thus, he says, a book was evolved having ten chapters, two of which were extracted verbatim from the Supplement to the Han History. The modern version in eight chapters is one from which these two are excluded.

Distinct from that described above is the version used in the preparation of my article *Taoist Tales, Part II*. It contains twenty *chüan*, and gives the author's name as Kan Pao. It was published in 1875.

Then there are the popularly written and badly printed handbooks of Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist mythology

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which, though called by the same title, totally differ from the scholarly productions we have been discussing. Wylie describes this type as scarcely deserving to be named as a Chinese book (*Notes*, p. 193). Two examples are known to me. Their full titles are *K'o ch'u hsiang tsêng pu sou shên chi ta ch'uan* 刻出像增補搜神記大全 and *San chiao yüan liu shêng ti fo shuai sou shên ta ch'uan.* 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神全.

The former has six *chüan*, the latter seven. In several respects they differ, but both contain accounts of some 170 heroes of the three religions, illustrated with rough woodcuts. There seems little reason to connect them with Yü Pao. The remarks of the reviewer in the *Jr. N. C. Br. R. A. S.* make it evident that it is one of these which he is acquainted with and is confusing with the book referred to in my article. Judged from the literary point of view, these may be unworthy bearers of the title *Sou shên chi*; yet they contain much that is illuminating to the student of iconography and popular beliefs, and no one who accepts the present-day estimate of the study of folk-lore as a serious science would dismiss them so contemptuously as Wylie did fifty years ago.

All this is rather tedious, I fear, and yet it is far from being a complete account of the many variants passing under the one name. Enough has been said, however, to point the useful moral that to cite the title *Sou shên chi* without going into further particulars is about as vague as saying anything is the size of a haystack.

The reviewer mentions in the same notice that he thinks it would be worth while to find out why I "took to Taoist tales," and he goes on to say that "this personal experience would be as interesting as the stories themselves." "It is well," he says, "to have a few of the *hsiens*' activities and prodigies. But really many of them are wearisome. We wish he would tackle the serious side of Taoism." Perhaps, therefore, I may venture in reply to explain that it was as a student of Chinese art that I started on Taoist tales. A brief acquaintance with the work of painters and craftsmen soon made it evident that something more than appreciation of its technical qualities was necessary to a full understanding. On every side one encountered an art inspired and animated by national ideals and conceptions of life remote from our own, and among them, it seemed, Taoist influence was prominent. How significant this influence has been in the past and possibly may be in the future is told by the author of *Buddhist China* in words more eloquent than those at my command. He says: ". . . future leaders of China's artistic development will be doing an injustice

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to themselves and an injury to the æsthetic and spiritual instincts of their race if they turn contemptuously away from a wonder-working fountain whence the poets and artists of their country have drawn copious draughts of inspiration for a period of nearly two thousand years. In the imaginative literature and art of China Taoism has had an influence which is not unworthy of comparison with the influence wielded in Western art by the Greek mythology, or by the ideals of medieval chivalry, or by the legends associated with the beginnings of Christianity."

Having grasped the importance of understanding modes of thought and action so frequently expressed in Chinese art, the next step was to gain some knowledge of the legends and teaching associated with eminent Taoists. Much has been written about the philosophy of Taoism, and biographical accounts have been published of many of its heroes; but its fabulous side has been neglected, and no book in a European language could be found that enabled one to identify the figures and episodes constantly represented in paintings and other works of art. It remained, therefore, to turn to native sources. The enquiry proved so attractive, that, apart from the literary elucidation of pictorial themes, it soon engrossed one's interest for its own sake. Taoist hero-tales and their marvels were found to be a rich storehouse of myth and legend, and for this reason alone I would venture to contend that to study them is indeed to tackle a "serious side of Taoism." Now that the study of folklore has been officially honoured by the Royal Society in the person of its eminent exponent, Sir James Frazer, surely no one will deny it the rank of a "serious" science.

This is my rejoinder to the reviewer's comments on the futility of multiplying Taoist tales. The translations (of which those under review form but a small part) were made with pleasurable toil primarily in the hope of providing clues to much that Chinese art has to tell. That they are found "wearisome" should be attributed largely to lack of skill on the part of the writer, who has attempted to maintain without embroidery a literal rendering.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON.

(The Nos. refer to Prof. Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary*, unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named).

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UNDER No. 13,404 (輶軒) Prof. Giles should have mentioned "Envoys" in connection with the "light carriages." The term originated during the Chou dynasty. It appears that during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties Imperial Commissioners were sent to the various districts to study the dialects then prevailing. The Chinese in those days apparently turned their attention to the relation of language and philology, taking ethnology in hand with a view of grouping the various tribes by their speech. The "light carriages" were used by the Imperial Commissioners when travelling, generally during the eighth moon. The following excerpt is from the 風俗通序:—周秦常以歲八月遣輶軒之使求異代方言.

Yu hsien has, therefore, the metaphorical meaning "historical" or "philological-ethnological researches." Mr. Watters mentions the "Light carriage envoys." * Under the same number, Giles translates 臺北輶軒 as the "boss" of North Formosa—referring to an energetic governor. This term could only refer to the *title* of the book dealing with the historical monuments of North Formosa; just as, e.g., 浙路輶軒表 means the "historical monuments" along the Chekiang railway line.

* * *

According to the 石林燕語, 翰林待詔 (No. 470) were first appointed by the T'ang Emperor Ming Huang; their office was

* *Essays on the Chinese language*, pp. 31, 32.

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to peruse and make comments on all memorials to the throne before submitting them to the Emperor for action. The 翰林供奉 No. 6572, were their colleagues performing similar duties. The first two officials appointed for this duty were 張說 and 陸堅. The Chinese newspapers frequently refer to barbers as 待詔. The term was first used for a barber probably in the Yüan dynasty.

* * *

No. 5,124 貼黃 "to cover with yellow paper," etc., dates from the T'ang dynasty. 貼 should be 帖. As the edicts were in yellow the correction slips were in yellow too. But previous to 1628 the Ming custom was to use *white* paper for memorials, but yellow correction slips were used, the précis, supplementary notes and appendix also being in yellow.

The dockets of memorials were called 引黃. In the third year, 1st moon of the Emperor Ch'ung Chêng (A.D. 1630) the marginal notes on memorials were written on *white* paper slips : these also were called 帖黃. During the Sung dynasty memorials on matters of importance were called 畫黃, but those pertaining to unimportant affairs were termed 錄黃. The 空黃 referred to the blank spaces left in memorials to be filled in by the ministers as circumstances required. This latter form dates from the Emperor Hui Tsung—A.D. 1101. *Ibid.*

* * *

Under No. 8,639, 泮水. The late Mr. Allen came very near the mark when he said that "It seems to me that the only teaching given in it were the orders given by the Prince to the commanders of his forces or to his Counsellers."* According to the 戴氏震璞, 泮 was the name of a river in the Lu State and not the name of a college, and 泮宮 was the name of a parade-ground where the marquis of Lu was wont to present the left ears of the slain in battle, and had nothing to do with "teaching," as Mr. Allen rightly supposed. The text follows: 泮宮者泮魯水也非學宮也若以泮水爲半水則下文泮林豈是半林況魯頌泮宮詩乃是僖公獻馘演武之所非尚文之地.

* * *

In the 書經, chap. 皐陶謨, 無敎, the last character is apparently a glaring misprint and has been copied and taught in schools for ages! In the 漢書王嘉傳, Wang Chia (王嘉) says 臣聞皐陶戒帝舜曰無敎佚欲 "I have heard that Kao Yao warned the Emperor Shun saying: 'refrain from vainglory, idleness and lust.'" *V.* 焦氏筆乘.

* Book of Chinese Poetry, pp. 493, 494 and note.

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It is difficult to keep track of Chinese official ranks. But the following should have been noticed by lexicographers: 持節使 and 假節使 which were in use during the Han dynasty; the former had power to condemn to death all officials who received an allowance of 2,000 石 while the latter had power of life and death over all the gentry who, though holding rank were not in office. All army officers who had the power to condemn to death malefactors against military discipline were called 刺史. During the 1st year of the T'ang Emperor Wu Tê (A.D. 618) the territorial divisions 郡 were changed to 州; and at the same time the rank of 太守 was changed to 刺史, with the brevet rank of 持節. *V.* 隨園隨筆.

* * *

The official term 權發遣, also not noticed by lexicographers, refers to the civil rank introduced by 王安石. They were the officials who were advanced two steps on probation; i.e., by skipping the intermediate ranks. An official who only skipped one rank was called 權知. *Ibid.*

* * *

Another official term is 落致仕 referring to the reinstatement of officials who had already retired from the service of the State. *Ibid.*

* * *

No. 846 加級 was originally only bestowed for merit on the battle field. The phrase originated during the 秦 dynasty as it was then the custom to grant one degree of merit for each enemy head taken off during battle. *Ibid.*

* * *

The term 侍衛 No. 9,915 had originally no analogy with the Imperial body-guard. 子路 was 侍衛 to Confucius—his Cerberus. This appears to be the earliest known record of the term. During the Yüan dynasty the Commander-in-Chief of the 侍衛 was called 都赤 and the 侍衛 were known as 怯薛. *V.* 元史.

* * *

Chinese place-names are often wrongly given through the mistake of using a character or characters with the same sound but different meaning. Such a mistake, to be noticed because historical, is *yü* in 餘杭. According to the 地理音釋 it should be *Yü* (禹杭) because the Great Yü exchanged his chair for a boat at this place when touring Chekiang. 大禹至此舍車而登航也. He was then en route to Kuei Chi,—see overleaf.

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No. 5,184, last line, 會稽, was the meeting place of the Great Yü and the nobles to discuss the resources of the empire; hence the name *Kuei Chi* or Kwei Chi. It is the modern Shaohingfu. The Great Yü is said to have died at Kwei Chi Shan (會稽山). *V.* 咸淳臨安志.

I visited the place in 1920 and had pointed out to me a small shrine said to be near the spot where his mortal remains are. The actual spot, however, could not be indicated. There is also a large temple dedicated to Yü, but it is falling into decay. Several memorial tablets erected by various high officials and a stone with the famous "tadpole" characters inscribed on it similar to the one on Mount Hêng in Hunan are all situated in the enclosure. The place is about 6 *li* from Shaohing and is well worth a visit.

* * *

It may be of interest to note that the distinguished Buddhist priest Shên Chu-hung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1687) introduced the ceremony of "releasing living creatures" (放生) in the west lake at Hangchow in A.D. 1571. *V.* 錢塘霸蹟.

He was, however, not the originator of the custom. According to the 列子 the first to inaugurate the ceremony was 趙簡子 (6th cent. B.C.) a descendent of Chao Ts'ui (*Biog. Dict.* No. 188). The story goes that one day a countryman presented him with a dove, and as it happened to be the first day of the new year Chao said, "I will give the bird its freedom," and forthwith let it go. But the originator of releasing living creatures such as snakes, fish, insects, etc., was Yen Chên-ch'ing (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2461). The 陰騭文說証彙纂 states that he established ponds at eighty-one different places for the special purpose.

* * *

There is a meaning connected with the character *liu* 流, not to be found in any of the dictionaries. It is the name of a silver ingot weighing 8 taels: *shu shih i liu* 朱提一流. 朱提 (No. 2544) is derived from the name of a mine in the Shu Shih district, the modern 宜賓縣 in Szechuan. The term probably originated from the fact that silver ingots weighing 8 taels were produced at the mine.

* * *

Dr. Giles translates 金渦浮釘 (No. 2032) as a large door-nail. This is only partly correct. The phrase refers to an arch-shaped emblem with large headed nails on the main entrance of yamen doors. It is so-called because the appearance of large-headed nails studded over a plain surface is supposed to represent water-bubbles. The following is said to be the origin of the emblem: Lu Pan (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1424) noticing that when a

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conch was touched by the hand it at once withdrew into the shell and closed the entrance so that it could not be easily opened, adopted the idea of a conch-shell as a decoration for doors to represent the idea that a door when closed would be as tight and secure as the entrance—when closed—of a conch. Hence, the custom of having a *p'u shou* 鋪首 wooden door-nail decoration in the panel of the principal door. They are generally gilded. *P'u* 鋪 is defined as *ou* 鍮 with the meaning of knob or conch-shaped, and *ou* is said to represent the water-bubbles. Hence, the name "floating bubble nail." *V.* 昌演繁露. Cross reference should be made between Nos. 2032, 4048 and 8494. The character 鍮 is not in Giles' dictionary.

* * *

A classical term meaning "to court favour through an intermediary," and which seems to have escaped the notice of lexicographers, is 媚竈 to flatter the stove. Cf. Giles' *Dict.* No. 11,625, 寧媚於竈 "better be civil to the Kitchen God—and secure a good report". This term originated with Wang Sun-chia (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2,229), during the conversation between Wang and Confucius when the latter wished to call on the King of the Ch'i State with a view of winning him over to his theories of government. Wang asked Confucius whether he would rather pay court to the god of the furnace than to the god of the southwest corner of the house. Thus in an oblique manner he conveyed the hint that it would be better for Confucius to flatter him rather than the King because it would be through his (Wang's) influence that the King would listen. Cf. Analects *Pa Yih*, book 3; chap. xiii. The term 媚竈 is now commonly understood to mean "court favour through an intermediary."

* * *

It is popularly believed among the Chinese that Chang Liang (*Biog. Dict.* No. 88) was the inventor of kites. But according to the 識齊雜記 Han Hsin (*Biog. Dict.* No. 617) was the inventor. In the above-mentioned book it is stated that Han Hsin had plotted with Ch'ên Hsi to dig a tunnel beneath the palace and in order to measure off the distance, he invented a kite for the purpose. 韓信約陳豨從中起乃作紙鳶放之以量未央宮遠近欲穿地入宮中.

As Han Hsin was in collusion with Ch'ên Hsi when the latter revolted against the Emperor in 196 B.C., we may practically ascribe that date for the invention of the kite.

* * *

We have to acknowledge the receipt with thanks of a capital Calendar from Watson's Mineral Water Co., the only firm that has thus favoured us.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LI—1920.

THERE are two improvements in this issue as compared with the previous volume: first, and of least importance, the proof-reading has been done more carefully and there are fewer of the mistakes which disfigured the pages of Volume 50. Then there is this time a greater variety in the subjects treated; indeed the matter is very varied, and the whole forms a very readable number.

It may be said that if a book is readable it fulfils its purpose: what else is a book for except to be read? This is not strictly true, however, in the case of such Journals as this. The papers published by learned Societies are usually too dry and difficult for the ordinary reader, but they are perhaps invaluable for reference, or they lead to profitable discussion among specialists, and mark an advance in the knowledge of some subject.

The term "research" has been much degraded in recent years through the spread of education. It may soon even come to be used in the kindergarten. It now consists in the dragging together of all the passages in an author or in literature generally which bear on a single subject; these are arranged in order, chronological or other, are woven together with a running commentary, are called a thesis and perhaps offered for a degree. Such work may be most helpful to the student himself, but it may not be worth anything as a contribution to other peoples' knowledge. Even new facts brought to light still require a critical judgement which can co-ordinate them with the previously known and point out their effect on the general mass of knowledge. In fact, originality is the desideratum, and not every writer has it.

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We do not accuse the Journal before us of having too much of the *réchauffé* character in it; but we are inclined to say that its being so very readable makes it less authoritative. The Editor of the Journal calls attention to the preceding 50 volumes and the wealth of material therein. We recall many of the papers which have become standard literature for students of China, which are often referred to still. Bretschneider, Faber, Macgowan, Edkins and others wrote such papers. The question is to what extent will recent numbers also be treasured as contributions to knowledge, and be quoted in footnotes of learned works?

The Society is a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; and must be supposed to have the same ideals: with this distinction, that since the parent Society has such a vast field in India it more or less assumes that China can be left to the local Society. But evidently the Society being one there should be the same scholarly and serious treatment given to China as to India. How far this is so in practice may be seen at once by comparing the last issues of the London and Shanghai Journals.

The fact is that popular lectures with lantern pictures can seldom be suitable for reproduction in a learned Journal. It is most desirable to have them, and often they are well worthy to be printed; but for the Journal a different class of paper is required if future numbers are to be as valuable as earlier ones.

As to the articles in this issue all can be read with pleasure. Dr. Stanley's comparison of Greek and Chinese Art Ideals is refreshing. His statement that the effect of Taoism and Buddhism on Chinese art has been retrograde and degrading might cause profitable discussion. Mr. Mason's account of a Chinese biography of Mohammed is something quite new and is of extreme interest. Dr. Chatley's paper on coal in China, and Mr. Skvortzow's on botany and zoology are written by men who understand their subjects and may be regarded as authoritative. The other papers are almost all such as can be read with pleasure and profit.

Calendrier-Annuaire pour 1921. Zikawei, La Mission Catholique. $2.00.

This welcome and invaluable almanac is issued for its 19th year. We think it could be improved by a short prefatory note indicating new features in the work. For example we have in the present issue a careful chronicle of the students' strikes. Some such preface is the more necessary because the Table des matières has an insignificant place, hard to find, less than half-way through

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the volume. More than half the book is an appendix, the index to which comes in the proper place at the end.

Apart from this question of arrangement we have nothing but praise for the little book, which seems to contain everything, from the nebula in Andromeda and antilogarithms to four decimals, down to tables for conversion of taels into dollars and precautions against tuberculosis.

The Origins of the Chinese. E.T. Williams. Reprinted from American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Vol. 1, No. 2.

PROF. Williams, now Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in the University of California, is not a stranger to China, and has already other studious works to his credit. In this paper we have the latest—but it will not be the last—attempt to solve a problem that may prove for ever unsolvable.

He gives us first the opinions of various writers as to whether the Chinese immigrated from the south or the west or are autochthonous. The opinions are all in English, and we think some French and German writings might also have been cited. More discrimination should also be used in such matters: not every opinion is worth quoting since many are but themselves borrowed from authorities and have no authority in themselves. Some of the writers cited have not studied the subject but merely state what, so far as they have read, are the conclusions of experts. Opinions of Hirth or Chavannes are of value; but there is no use in also quoting Smith or Jones who simply accept and repeat what those scholars have said.

Prof. Williams himself is a student of the question and has formed his own theory. He takes us back to what are generally regarded as legendary times, before Yao and Shun. His arguments are based on Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, which begins with Huang Ti, on the Tribute of Yü, and especially on the legends of the Shan Hai Ching. He agrees with de Lacouperie that the Chinese entered from the west, and that the Bak Tribes are the *pai hsing*, the followers of Huang Ti; and to this extent he also supports C. J. Ball against Parker and Hirth—that there was a "related origin" between the Sumerian and Chinese languages, both peoples having migrated from Central Asia, but in different directions.

The paper is frankly for the general reader; for writings in another language are only given in an English translation, and we

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are told twice in footnotes that *Mencius* is one of the Chinese Classics. But the paper is scholarly, a valuable résumé and a valiant defence of a definite theory.

Etudes sur la Phonologie chinois, par Bernhard Karlgren. In three parts, pp. 700, Upsala, 1915-1919.

A Mandarin Phonetic Reader in the Pekinese Dialect (same Author and Publisher).

To review such a ponderous work of learning as this would require more space than we can give and also, since Chinese Phonology is a new science, it would require long study. It will be criticized piecemeal in many journals by many students, but a single reading means a very cursory examination and a very short review.

The preface is written in some scorn of most others who have attempted work on these lines, and nearly all of them are damned as amateurs. One would take the attitude of the writer to be that of a young man, and perhaps in years to come he will do more justice to the men who have been great sinologues even without much knowledge of phonology. If M. Karlgren had made his début in China with Williams, or even with Legge, he would probably not have chosen phonology as a subject for the doctor's degree.

We believe Prof. Saintsbury has a very elaborate work on the prosody of the English poets. We think phonology as unimportant compared with sinology as prosody is compared with poetry. Prof. E. H. Parker is the writer most fully and harshly treated in the preface. Perhaps his phonology of the dialects is all wrong, but he has done most valuable work in other departments, and we hope that M. Karlgren will be able to do as much outside of phonology.

As old-fashioned students, who learnt Chinese by direct speech with natives, we are only bewildered by this new science. Nor do we quite see how the sounds of any dialect can be fixed with such scientific accuracy as is pretended to, seeing that to our knowledge the speech in a single district may vary as much as Yorkshire talk and Somerset. As Prof. Maspero—whom M. Karlgren praises—says, he has had to change his opinion on one point because the one native he had enquired of gave him a wrong sound.

The first of these two works is in French, the other is in English. We do not think it will ever be a popular reading book. Here again we find criticism,—of Mateer's tones. Those of us who have

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heard Dr. Mateer talking Chinese we might almost say brilliantly will think he was perhaps on the whole as effective as his critics.

With regard to the system of transcription for Chinese sounds, we can only say that we might almost as well learn Chinese itself right off!

Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales, Tome II. Par Henri Cordier. Paris, Jean Maisonneuve & Fils. 1920.

By the same mail that brought this work we received also the third volume of Prof. Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, two volumes of which had already appeared in the year and a supplementary volume to the Cordier-Yule *Marco Polo* has also appeared; so that we were astonished that even so hard-working a man as M. Cordier should be able also to put out this book; we find, however, it has only entailed the labour of collection, all the papers in it having appeared in various periodicals, and mostly from ten to twelve years ago. This makes the work of criticism easy; we need do little more than ennumerate the subjects chosen. These are nearly all concerned with China, with articles on Baghdad, Delhi, etc. Prof. Cordier is well-known as an expert in careful research and compilation and we are indebted to him for many excellent and valuable résumés, as in this book, of works which we have not the time or the opportunity to read. We have here, for instance, brief but most clear accounts of the work of Stein and Pelliot in Central Asia, and again an unusually full account, though naturally not up-to-date, of the Chinese Maritime Customs.

We have not yet seen the first volume of the work, which was already printed on the eve of the war, but not distributed till last year. The two volumes, admirably printed, make a most welcome and useful addition to the library of any student of Far Eastern things.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Hanoi.

We heartily welcome this second number of the twentieth volume, devoted to a Chinese subject. It is a study of the Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) dialect in the Tang dynasty, by Prof. H. Masperò. This is one of the partial works suggested in M. Karlgren's work noticed above. M. Karlgren is referred to, and with approval, in many places. The work is too technical to be of much use to the general student, but to the specialist it will be of great value.

We are glad to notice that among the articles promised in future issues there is one by G. Bouillard, "Les Sépultures Impériales des Ming."

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